

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Chinese Laborer and His Family HERBERT D. LAMSON	203
Dole Versus Unemployment Insurance GEORGE B. MANGOLD	213
Linguistic Changes of Swedish Immigrants CARL M. ROSENQUIST	221
Religious Personality Types CARL D. WELLS	232
Population Increase and Farm Status OTIS D. DUNCAN	242
Problems of Second Generation Chinese KIT KING LOUIS	250
Rural Intelligence and College Achievement THOMAS C. McCORMICK	259
Crime in West Virginia HELEN L. YOKE	267
What Race are Filipinos? EMORY S. BOGARDUS	274
Book Notes	280
International Notes	290
Social Research Notes	295
Social Photoplay Notes	298

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January-February, 1932

THE CHINESE LABORER AND HIS FAMILY

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IMAGINE that you are a laborer, the head of a family of four or five persons including yourself, your wife, and two or three children; that it costs your family to live in Shanghai about four hundred dollars* a year; and that your earnings,—in spite of the fact that you may work seven days a week and eleven to twelve hours a day, perhaps eighty hours a week,—are only \$250 per year. You are thus able to contribute toward the support of your family only between fifty and sixty per cent of the needed amount. Where are you going to secure the remainder of the money needed? Your earnings will support yourself and perhaps partly or wholly your wife, but there is nothing left for your children. This means that your children or your wife, or both, must leave home and get a job in some factory in order to make ends meet. You are a self-respecting person and naturally feel somewhat the loss of face involved in your inability to support your family entirely by your own efforts, especially since the annual amount needed is only four hundred dollars. This is the position in which many adult male workers in Shanghai find themselves. In fact for

* All amounts are in Chinese currency.

many the situation is even worse than this. In a study of 230 working families, mostly cotton operatives, in the Western District of Shanghai, which was recently published, the average size of the family is 4.77 persons. The average husband's earnings come to but \$170 for the year, while the average expenses per family are \$390.12. Thus the husbands contribute only about 43 per cent of the yearly expenses of the families.

How the Chinese laborer lives,—that is a broad question, for there are all sorts and conditions of laborers; factory and ricksha, wheelbarrow and wharf, rural and urban, married and single, male and female, adult and child. I shall have to confine my discussion to the limits of our factual knowledge as revealed chiefly by various studies of family life through budget analyses in different localities over a period of a few years since 1920.

In the nineteenth century Frederick Le Play, a French scientist and social thinker, made his famous *Family Monograph* studies and stressed the importance of detailed investigations of family life including budgetary analysis. He contended that the person who makes a complete analysis of the factors affecting the income and expenditure of any family will be in possession of complete knowledge about that family. He said, "All the acts which constitute the life of a working man's family result, more or less directly, in an income or an outlay." He went into families and actually lived with them for a period of weeks collecting his data. I shall have to confess that I have not employed this method, nor has any one else in China to my knowledge. My information is based upon the various published studies, now about thirty, which have been made by several investigators at various times and places, who visited the families, gaining information through interviews, schedules, and account books. I shall therefore

attempt to present in barest outline some facts about the life of some Chinese laboring families as revealed by these budget investigations.

THE SIZE OF FAMILY

It is often stated that the Chinese have large families. It is true that the so-called large family system prevails in China in which it is customary for several generations to live under one roof, and to share a common pocketbook, with their families and collateral relatives of varying degrees of kinship. It is probably true also that the Chinese families have rather high birth rates, which are at present paralleled by high death rates. It is likewise true that these studies of working class families do not reveal excessively large families, perhaps for several reasons. Most of the investigations have been made among the common workers whose incomes are insufficient to support large families. Many have been made in cities where rents are comparatively high and in situations in which workers are separated from their old folks and clan relatives who remain in country villages. Factory operatives seem to be a rather young group, on the whole, and thus have not yet had time to accumulate large families. As for the rural studies, the pressure of people on the land crowds off the surplus and leaves behind only that number which can be supported by the small land holding owned or rented by the family.

The rural studies show an average size of family somewhat larger than the city workers. In a series of studies made by Professor J. L. Buck of Nanking University between 1922 and 1925 in seven different provinces in East Central and North China, the average size of the family came to 5.65 persons. For several urban investigations the corresponding figure seems to run between four and five persons, averaging about four and one-half.

In the Shanghai studies we find Lamson's 21 families ranging by income groups from 2 to 7.8 persons with an average of 4.6. Mr. Fang's 100 Yangtzepoo working families averaged 4.1 persons, while 100 Commercial Press printers had 4.4, and 85 postal workers, representing a better economic class, had 5.2 persons per family, four being the modal number, however. In the case of 230 cotton operatives studied in Shanghai the figure came to 4.77. We must conclude then that, as revealed so far, the workers on the average do not show large families. It is not because of conscious birth control, however, for this movement has not spread to them.

WHO ARE THE CONTRIBUTORS TO FAMILY EARNINGS?

In my opening statements I have already hinted that the income of the family head is not sufficient to support his normal family, even though its size is small and the living standard low. Many studies testify to the correctness of this observation. I propose to prove this by citing actual figures. In a study made by L. K. T'ao in Peiping about 1927 of 48 families, three-fourths of whom were ricksha families, there were 220 persons of whom 146, or about two-thirds, were gainfully employed. Of these 146 workers, 72 were males and 74 females. Husbands contributed only about 57 per cent of the family income, wives about nine, children 21.5, and other relatives 3.4 per cent. The total family *earnings* constituted 90.5 per cent of the total family *income*, the remaining nine and one-half per cent being received from presents, rents, relief, and small miscellaneous sources.

In a study of 100 village families outside of Peiping made by Lee and Chin about the same time, there were 406 persons of whom 170 or forty-two per cent were engaged

in gainful occupations, there being 141 men and 29 women. The heads of families contributed only 64.5 per cent toward the total family income, wives four and one-half, sons 14.3, daughters 1.3, and other members 6.6 per cent. In another village study in the same vicinity, of 64 families, 52 per cent of all the members were gainfully employed, 144 males and 57 females.

Gamble reported on a study of 113 Peiping families in which 41.6 per cent of all members were contributing to family income, 129 males and 62 females. There were 1.7 wage earners per average family. Fifty-three per cent of the families, however, were supported by one wage-earner. Eighty per cent of the males and fifty-five per cent of the females over fifteen years of age were gainfully employed.

Coming down to Shanghai we find that in the 100 Yangtzepoo families fifty-one per cent of all members were earning money, 147 men and 64 women. Of the women twelve were under fourteen years of age. In this study the husbands contributed on the average only about 26 per cent of the total family income, wives six and one-half, sons about forty-three, daughters and daughters-in-law fifteen and one-half per cent. The total family earnings constituting 93.4 per cent of the total family income, the rest coming in from borrowing, pawning articles, and miscellaneous sources. The 85 postal workers in Shanghai showed one one-fourth of the members gainfully employed, nine-tenths of the workers being males. Among these families husbands contributed 89 per cent of the total family income thus seemingly representing a higher economic status since the husbands' ability to support their families was much greater than in other studies. Among the one hundred Shanghai printers, slightly more than one-fourth, or 26.3 per cent, were gainfully employed, 102 being men and 14 being women. Here husbands contributed an average of 85 per

cent of total family income. In the study of 21 Yangtzepoo families by Lamson, nearly sixty per cent of all members were working gainfully, there being out of fifty-eight wage-earners, 36 females and 22 males. This excess of female over male workers is probably due to the fact that the families were selected through the female workers' class at the Yangtzepoo Social Center Night School, thus there were some families represented in which there was no male earner. This brings out the point that in Shanghai there are many families in which the women are the chief wage-earners, for in certain industries such as the textiles there seems to be a greater demand for female than for male labor, and husbands often find it difficult to get a job.

In the 230-family study in Shanghai by Yang and T'ao, out of 1,097 persons 538, or 49 per cent, were gainfully employed. Of the latter 219 were female and 319 were male. Of all the males in the families, 52.6 per cent and of all females 42.9 per cent were earning money.

In looking back over these studies there are nine in which we can get at the proportion of males and females who are earning money. The percentages of gainfully employed females range for the nine studies from 4.5 per cent to 69.8 per cent of all females, averaging 32.9 per cent. The corresponding figure for males ranges from 43.2 to 73.1 per cent averaging 57.3 per cent. When we figure the percentage irrespective of sex, the studies show from 25.1 to 66.3 per cent of all family members earning money, averaging about 46 per cent.

HOW MUCH MONEY DO LABORERS EARN?

The amounts that workers can earn seems ridiculously small. The average sums earned during the year by the husbands in the 100 printers' families came to \$333.18; for the 85 postal workers \$465.52; for the 100 Yangtzepoo

families the husbands earned on the average \$255; for the 21 Yangtzepoo families \$248.88; for the husbands of the 230 families in Shanghai \$170.04; in the 100 village families near Peiping \$139 for the year. In all of these studies the average amount earned by the husbands, study by study, is considerably less than the average amount needed for family support.

In seven studies, five in Shanghai and two in or near Peiping, we find that the percentage of family income contributed by the husbands ranges from about one-fourth to nine-tenths, averaging 56 per cent. The corresponding percentage for wives ranges from 1.3 to 15.5, averaging 7.66. For sons the range is from 0.92 to 42.7, averaging 13 per cent; and for daughters the range is 0.27 to 25 per cent, averaging 7 per cent. From a comparison of these figures with those dealing with percentages gainfully employed, the principle seems to hold that in general the higher the proportion of gainfully employed persons in a family series, the lower is the proportion of husbands' earnings to total family expenditure. In other words, families in which a very small proportion of members are gainfully employed reveal at the same time a high proportion of family expenses borne by the earnings of the husband.

The lower income groups are often forced to secure additional income through borrowing and pawning articles. Family crises such as weddings and funerals consume amounts out of all proportion to the family income because of the binding force of custom involving the keeping of "face." In such times, and when sickness strikes with a heavy hand, families are forced to borrow from usurious moneylenders at common rates of from three to five per cent per month, or 36 to 60 per cent per year. These uncontrolled Shylocks often prefer to keep a family under perpetual obligation, receiving their interest indefinitely

rather than seeking to get back their principal. Many times a family finds it impossible to pay back the principal even though it be only one or two hundred dollars. The low earning power of the laborers may be seen from a survey of their earnings in thirty industries made during the last six months of 1928. It was found that on the average, adult male laborers earned \$21.33 per month, adult females \$12.80 per month, and children \$10.44. These three figures multiplied by twelve give us for the year about \$256 for males, \$153.60 for females, and \$125.28 for children. It must be remembered that thousands of workers are getting less than this average.

WHAT DOES IT COST LABORERS TO LIVE?

The actual amounts of money on which the Chinese working families are forced to subsist are almost unbelievably small. The 100 families of Lee and Chin near Peiping in 1927 showed an annual expense of \$164, for families averaging 4.06 persons. In another study in nearby villages the amount came to \$235.21 per family of 6.04 persons. J. L. Buck found in 1922-25 for North China the average figure per family of \$190.63, but for all of his areas including East Central China the amount was \$228.32 per family. The 48 Peiping families, mostly rich-sha men, spent on the average about \$203 per year for 4.58 persons per family. In a study of 61 salt workers in a factory in Tangku near Tientsin, the cost of living for the year 1926-27 was \$220.37, the families averaging 3.72 persons, and for incomes ranging from \$130 to \$480 per year. S. D. Gamble reports on 113 families in Peiping with an average of 4.1 persons per family, showing average year's expense to be \$211 for incomes ranging from \$120 to \$300 per year. The Nankai University Committee on Social and Economic Research studied 199 Tientsin families in

1929, discovering that each family averaged for the year \$288.16.

Coming south to Shanghai we find some variation in amounts. The 100 Yangtzepoo families in 1929, with 4.11 persons, averaged for the year \$461.80. Lamson's 21 families in the same district showed \$476.20 for 4.6 persons. The 85 postal workers, having 5.2 persons, spent in 1929 the average sum of \$574 per family, while the 100 printers, with 4.42 persons, averaged \$374.51 for the same year. The 230 cotton mill families in the Western District of Shanghai spent \$390.12 per family in 1927-28, averaging 4.77 persons.

Arriving at a conception of the cost of living in another way we have compared, for a few studies where possible, the cost per equivalent male adult for the year. Buck's North China families spent \$41.17; Buck's East China families \$65; Tao's Peiping ricksha families \$60.08; salt workers in Tangku \$80.41; Lamson's Shanghai families \$138.45; Fang's Yangtzepoo workers about \$136; the 230 cotton workers in Shanghai \$103.48 per year for one equivalent male adult.

If we take the annual expense *per person*, irrespective of age or sex, we find the total average yearly expense to be as follows: the 100 printers \$84.92; the 230 cotton operatives \$81.78; the 21 Shanghai families \$103.52; the 85 postal workers \$110.39; the 100 Yangtzepoo factory workers \$112.36.

According to the standard of Yang and T'ao for the 230 families, one equivalent adult male requires \$103.48 a year to live at that standard in Shanghai. The average male earnings as shown by the Shanghai Bureau of Social Affairs were \$256 for the year. The average husband then living at this standard could support 2.47 equivalent male adults. This would leave 1.3 unsupported by the husband's

earnings. But actually the situation is worse than this because the actual husbands in the 230 family study earned only \$14.17 per month, which is about one-third lower than the \$21.33 average male earnings found by the Bureau. According to the standard of \$103.48 for an adult male, a husband and a wife would need \$186.26 for the year. Since the husbands of the 230 families earn only \$170.04 the husband could not on the average even support his own wife without help from other family members. The wife is counted as consuming eighty per cent of the adult male figure.*

* EDITORIAL NOTE: This study will be continued in the next issue of *Sociology and Social Research* by Professor Lamson under the title, "How the Chinese Laborer Lives."

THE DOLE VERSUS UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

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THE FREE AND PROMISCUOUS way in which the word "dole" is being used today by newspapers, magazines, politicians, and men with special interests raises a query in respect to the real meaning of the word and the type of service for which it stands. Doles have a long and checkered history. Originally they consisted of charitable gifts or of forms of relief granted without the application of character tests of any kind. In the England of several centuries ago these gifts consisted largely of food and drink. They may have been provided by the monasteries to the casual wayfarer or by benevolent individuals to the neighborhood poor who were ever ready for such benefactions.

Writers even tell us of the "scrambling doles." These were distributed or scattered about and the poor scrambled to get them, each individual attempting to obtain as much as possible. Those of us who have seen animals or birds scramble in unseemly fashion for the food thrown out into the pens or areas where birds and beasts have been enclosed get a realistic picture of the grim significance of the dole. Until an opportunity for work and for financial independence became reasonably assured doles continued to sway the quality and method of philanthropy. And it made little difference whether the benefactions were from public or from private sources. However, the churches, the clergy, and private individuals were easily moved by appealing applicants for aid; and accordingly much indiscriminate giving prevailed. Little or no effort was made to develop

capacity for self-support. Doles were the generally accepted method of relieving the poor. Therefore the word today carries a very unfavorable connotation. The dole is something to be despised, and to call any form of gift or benefaction a dole is to condemn it and cause it to lose the respect of the thinking people. A dole is a small gratuity given repeatedly to the poor without any tests being applied.

Doles were formerly provided for men through bequests, the interest on the sum set aside to be used for charitable gifts from time to time. The case is related of the "Leake dole of bread," which was made possible by a man named Leake who left \$5,000 for use in this manner. At regular intervals a certain amount of bread was to be distributed through one of the well known New York city churches.¹ This "charitable trust" was established before the close of the eighteenth century. It is an indication, also, of the fact that the method of the dole was no stranger to this country. The word has been applied to irresponsible relief-giving as featured in former days by many of the relief societies that gradually came into being after the cities of the Atlantic coast began to expand and grow.

Doles or their equivalent are still popular with certain types of philanthropic agencies. Missions, soup kitchens, Christmas funds, and similar enterprises continue to employ the dole in their relief program. Neither work nor character tests are applied and the net results of the relief are disastrous to the beneficiary in a large proportion of the cases. Education in standards of social work has proceeded so far in this country that a large share of the more intelligent people have come to realize the futility of such methods. Social agencies with constructive programs have arisen, and these not only discard the method of unquali-

¹ See *Encyclopedia Britannica* for account of the Dole.

fied relief but insist on a policy of self-help. The word *dole*, although not in general use in this country has, as far as it has entered our vocabulary, become synonymous with the most unenlightened and disastrous forms of giving. Therefore the best way to damn a project is to apply to it the appellation—*dole*.

The word "*dole*" has in recent months been frequently used in this country to designate the benefits received by English workingmen under the operation of the unemployment insurance law. When so used the manifest purpose is to discredit unemployment insurance as a system. The use of the term is clearly the result of ignorance of the difference between a *dole* and unemployment insurance, or it represents deliberate attempts to disguise the real purpose and method of the latter method of preventing poverty. Nothing can be more silly or contradictory than to condemn unemployment insurance with the label of "*dole*" and to support direct contributions or relief to the unemployed as we are doing and to call the latter method, "the dignified American program." It is the raising of large funds through popular subscription and the direct relief of the unemployed that will follow that constitutes the real *dole*. Much of our material relief will not even take the semi-dignified form of work relief. It will consist of outright grants of food, clothing, and shelter and is intended to tide individuals over to that hoped-for return of good times when the paying of dividends can again be cheerfully resumed and labor receive such wages as the mad scramble for jobs during the depression makes inevitable.

On the other hand, the English system of unemployment insurance has undergone many changes since its inception in 1911, and certain phases of the system do not accord with sound principles of philanthropy or social work. When the law was first passed, it was provided that employers

and employees alike shall each pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ pence per week and the state shall contribute $1\frac{2}{3}$ pence. In American money the total amounts to 13.6 cents per week per worker insured. The law applied to a limited number of trades only, and the insured numbered approximately 2,250,000 persons. The amount of benefit granted was \$1.70 per week and was so small that much complaint against the niggardliness of the system was heard.

In 1919 the benefits were increased to \$2.68 per week but the prices of that day did not permit any extravagance on that amount. The following year the scope of the law was extended and the benefit system was extended to most manual labor and to non-manual labor receiving less than 250 pounds or \$1,217 per year. The chief occupations excluded were agricultural labor and domestic service. The amounts contributed toward the insurance fund have also been changed from time to time and the present rates are given in Table I for adult males and females between 21 and 65 years of age. Somewhat different rates hold for young persons and for children.²

TABLE I

<i>Adults, 21-65</i>	<i>Weekly Payment (in cents) by:</i>			<i>Total Contributed</i>
	<i>Employer</i>	<i>Employee</i>	<i>State</i>	
Males	16.2	14.2	15.2	45.6
Females	14.2	12.2	13.2	39.6

Since 1929 the state has contributed the proportions shown above or one-third of the total. Before that time its contributions had been relatively less. The purpose of the contributory system is, in part, to establish a fund sufficient in size to take care of all unemployed on the well-known insurance principle and, in part, to place responsibility on

² *Unemployment Benefit Plans in the United States and Unemployment Insurance in Foreign Countries*, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 544, p. 280.

the worker by requiring him to participate in building up the fund.

Meanwhile the stingy benefits formerly paid were increased and at the present time have reached the munificent figures indicated in Table II:

TABLE II

<i>Class of Persons</i>	<i>Weekly Benefits</i>
Males 21-65	\$4.14
Females 21-65	3.65
Males 18-21	3.41
Females 18-21	2.92

A glance at this table at once reveals what a tremendous incentive to idleness this weekly benefit must be! At the rate established the benefit given to a man would if continued throughout the year amount to a total of \$215.

The chief weakness of the English system consists in the departure from the plan as originally conceived. After the War there were so many unemployed and so few opportunities for work that "uncovenanted" or "transitional" benefits were provided for; and these did not have to follow the principles laid down in the original law. Furthermore by complicating insurance with relief-giving the government has actually weakened the law as it applies to the so-called "standard" benefits themselves. It stands to reason that men who are out of work and who have no means of supporting themselves must be granted relief. The British government faced the alternative of forcing such men back upon the local communities where some degrading form of outdoor relief would have to be applied or of attempting to care for these men in a more dignified way. In either case, a large expenditure of money would be necessary. The government chose to aid such men through the machinery created by the unemployment insurance scheme.

At first the unemployed were allowed benefits for no more than 15 weeks per year, but these conditions have been altered at various times and at present the benefits are indeterminate provided that the beneficiary has made 30 contributions to the fund during the two years preceding the date of the claim. Furthermore a new test must be met every three months. To be allowed a claim an individual must "be capable of work and available for it; he must apply for benefit in prescribed manner at the employment exchanges; and he must attend a course of instruction if so required."³ These conditions require the applicant to accept suitable employment if that is offered him. If he does not accept his right to further benefits is forfeited. It is not required, however, that he accept the first job offered. Effort is made to keep every worker on the plane which he has attained and not to demand that he work in an inferior position and at wages lower than those to which he has been accustomed. It is this concession to the worker which is responsible for the notion among superficial observers from elsewhere that insurance is granted without conditions and that it places a premium on idleness, when its real purpose is to maintain the standard of living which men have achieved. Any system that would automatically and inevitably lower the standards of living should be unreservedly condemned. To call a system of benefits that aims to protect laborers against degradation a "dole" expresses a strange philosophy and threatens the community welfare.

The transitional benefits deserve to be administered according to up-to-date principles of social welfare. At first they were paid from the unemployment reserve fund, but the problem became too complicated by handling the situation in this way; therefore in 1930 the system was

³ Report cited, p. 281.

changed and payments were made directly from the national Exchequer. At the present time, accordingly, the accounts of the two funds are separate from each other. Standard benefits are paid out of unemployment insurance funds and transitional benefits as stated above. The conditions imposed on the recipients of transitional benefits are less drastic than those imposed on the ordinary unemployed individual. They are required to show that they have paid 8 or more contributions during the two years preceding their claims or that they have paid a total of 30 or more contributions in all. It is expected that the claimant will seek his livelihood in insurable employment and that he will meet tests similar to those required of the regular applicant for a benefit. This type of worker, however, is less anxious to obtain a job than is the case with the ordinary worker. Furthermore, his industrial career is less honorable than that of the other. That the beneficiaries of transitional benefits are in many cases lacking in diligence cannot be doubted. More exacting tests should probably be applied to them and possibly some system of work relief provided. At any rate this group constitutes the real problem from the social welfare standpoint, although in numbers they represent less than one-fifth of the total number receiving benefits. According to the federal bulletin quoted, the number of persons receiving standard benefits in March, 1931, was 1,937,000, while about 400,000 individuals were the recipients of transitional benefits.

The costs have been tremendous and during the last fiscal year the expenditures for both types of service reached nearly \$500,000,000. No nation can long survive at that rate. There is but one remedy and that is the restoration of work. Meanwhile Great Britain is making a gallant effort to maintain decent standards of living and to prevent a descent to the conditions that existed at the begin-

ning of the nineteenth century. There is unrest, but few responsible personages would attempt to abolish unemployment insurance. On the other hand, many would revise or reject the present plan for handling transitional benefits. However, to reject is to substitute the genuine dole, of which England knows altogether too much. Meanwhile it ill becomes Americans to confuse the various systems that England is attempting and to lump them all together and apply to them the invidious term "dole." The net effect is to mis-educate and to make dole synonymous with unemployment insurance, when the two, as a matter of fact, represent the operation of entirely different principles. There can be no doubt but that such mis-education is deliberate and that it aims to prevent the advent of unemployment insurance in this country. Similar opposition was at one time attempted to workmen's compensation. Perhaps history will repeat itself.

LINGUISTIC CHANGES IN THE ACCULTURATION OF THE SWEDES OF TEXAS*

CARL M. ROSENQUIST

University of Texas

LANGUAGE is a purely cultural trait, independent not only of race but largely of the non-linguistic elements of culture as well. It changes unexpectedly, irrationally, and at last so extensively that its origins are discernible only to experts. Yet for all its independence and its mutability language is the most cherished of cultural possessions. Every group feels that its language is peculiarly its own, and any attempt by other groups to impose a substitute calls forth stubborn resistance. Men cling to their language almost as tenaciously as to their religion.

The reasons for this are not far to seek. Language serves more effectively than any other social trait to hold individuals together in social relationships. The out-group is marked off from the in-group by differences in speech, such differences being considered essential to group identity. Nationalities wishing to establish themselves as political entities frequently inaugurate linguistic revivals in order to differentiate themselves from their oppressors.

Important as a language appears to be for a people, it is still more important for the individual. He has acquired a particular language, not language in general, and upon it he is dependent for the maintenance of his cultural relationships as he is dependent upon the economic system for his food supply. Language gives him an ordered scheme of concepts in place of the chaos of sensory experience. It

*This article represents a portion of a general cultural study of the Swedes of Texas. Assistance in the form of a grant for stenographic work from the Social Science Research Fund of the University of Texas is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

enables him to deal with the past and the future as easily as with the present, to recombine the qualities abstracted from experience into new and wonderful objects, to solve problems by symbolic trial and error, in short, to think. The usefulness of language as the instrument of thought gives it unique distinction among cultural traits. The individual rightly feels that it is an important part of himself, like his hands, without which he could not function completely or effectively.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find the members of the Swedish community in Texas resisting at first the introduction of English and the elimination of Swedish from their culture. In this respect they are like all other groups in similar circumstances. If there is a difference, it consists of a greater than ordinary readiness to give up the mother tongue.

The process of diffusion of English among the Swedes of Texas did not begin before their arrival in America, since practically none of the immigrants had the slightest knowledge of English when they landed. Now and then an individual came possessing a thin book, a guide to English conversation, several varieties of which were published in Sweden. But so inadequate was the instruction and so short the time for study that the results were negligible.

The new language came to the immigrants not by way of the school but by way of commercial and economic relations. The immigrant quickly learns the minimum vocabulary for holding a job at unskilled labor, but requires a year or more to learn to make himself well understood. By the end of that time he has mastered the most important rules of English grammar and largely freed his English speech from Swedish words.

Within the group Swedish continues to be used exclusively until American-born children begin to take a leading

part in the conversation. English thereupon gains rapidly. The members of the second generation manifest contempt for Swedish, partly because of their desire to sever connections with a group occupying an inferior social position in America and partly because they recognize in the speech of their parents only a peasant dialect. They do not wish to speak a language which identifies them with a lower class in both the old world and the new.

The result of this attitude is the appearance of the bilingual family. The parents speak English poorly and are well aware of it. Practically all their thinking is in Swedish. They have, moreover, a strong sentimental attachment for the mother tongue. To give it up for a language in which their own children are their superiors is more than most parents are able or willing to do, especially in communication between themselves. The children persist in speaking English.

Many families continue for years on a bilingual basis. Conversations conducted in two languages simultaneously occur whenever parents and children communicate with each other. In some instances the parents capitulate and talk with their children in halting English. Those who hold out longer must at last give up in order to talk to their grandchildren.

Outside the family the same awkward bilingual system interferes with easy communication. In the church it has been the source of much argument and some loss of membership. The immigrants feel that the distinctive feature of their church is its language. Once it is gone, their church becomes like all other churches of the same denomination. In this contention the older members are undoubtedly right. They are therefore obliged to witness the disappearance of their church through the inevitable anglicization or, if they refuse to give up Swedish, the death of

the church from loss of communicants. The former alternative is nearly always chosen as the better way out of the dilemma.

In activities where language is a less important or less conspicuous feature, the transition to English causes confusion and trouble, but nothing more serious. At most gatherings of recreational nature the segregation of the guests into age groupings is furthered by the tendency to use two languages. The old people talk Swedish; the young people talk English; but all of them understand both languages.

The objections of the older members of the group to the incursions of English manifest themselves in organized resistance. Numerous associations, societies, and clubs have been formed for the express purpose of preserving the Swedish language. Their efforts have been all but futile. The second generation refuses to have anything to do with them. The third generation shows a friendly interest, but speaks no Swedish. The final outcome is easily foretold.

However, the transition from one language to the other is not simply an exchange. The process has a number of intermediate stages in which the two languages more or less diffuse into each other. Sounds, words, and grammatical structures change with unequal rapidity, giving rise to all sorts of anomalous speech forms. The details of this process, constituting the significant portion of this article, are of interest to us as students of cultural change, because they show how one language is replaced by another under the conditions prevailing in modern America.

The Swedish spoken by the Swedes of Texas has been changed considerably through the introduction of numerous English words. Some of the words so adopted may owe their position to the fact that they are frequently used and have no brief and adequate counterpart in Swedish.

They include such words as "all right," "county," "cotton gin," "cent," "picture show," "sheriff," "upstairs." But the use of English words is not limited to those which have obvious utility. Many are included which have perfect counterparts in Swedish. Examples of these are as follows: "to haul," "to hoe," "car," "field," "speak," "barn," "nurse." In the process of adaptation to Swedish usage the English words undergo such extensive modification as to be scarcely recognizable. In the first place, the pronunciation is changed so as to eliminate all but the familiar Swedish sounds. Sometimes sounds are added or dropped in order to accomplish this end. Second, the English inflections are dispensed with and the Swedish inflections are substituted. Thus all verbs taken over have added to them the ending "ah" for the present infinitive. Plurals are formed by the addition of "r," "ar," or "er" instead of "s" or "es."

In the case of those who make no effort to keep their mother tongue pure (and this group is in the majority) these modified English words may come to make up a considerable portion of the vocabulary. A Swede newly arrived from Europe would have a good deal of difficulty at first in attempting to understand some of his Americanized countrymen.

The acceptance of English words is accompanied by a corresponding or even greater rejection of Swedish words, so that the vocabulary of the Swedes becomes poorer and poorer and accurate expression more and more difficult. Probably this would not occur to so great an extent if the group were larger. The Texas community is obviously too small to maintain the Swedish language in its entirety. Another change noted in the Swedish spoken in Texas is the tendency to anglicization in the pronunciation. It is not commonly observed among those who came to America

as adults, while it is all but unanimous among the American-born. Most conspicuous of the changes in pronunciation is the substitution of the soft American "r" for the trilled or guttural "r" of Swedish.

From these brief considerations it is clear that the Swedish of the Swedes of Texas is rapidly coming to resemble English. A few generations would doubtless suffice to make it over into a language understandable in part by English-speaking people. It would still bear many marks of its origin in its pronunciation and in its grammatical forms, but it would no longer merit the name Swedish.

Under the pressure of necessity English gains continually. The proportion of the members of the community who were immigrants grows less, while the number of their children and grandchildren grows larger. Relatively few second-generation families in Texas use Swedish in their homes. To the vast majority of the members of the third generation Swedish is an unknown tongue. Traces of it appear in the form of accent or of awkward translations. In families where the parents steadfastly refuse to speak English the children acquire the new language in as pure a form as it comes to them outside the home. If they attend school where no accents are found among the pupils, they learn to speak English in the form most acceptable to the larger community. Very often, however, the Swedish children attend schools where a considerable proportion of the pupils are Swedish and who have, as a result of home training, a decided foreign accent. This accent is so easily acquired as to seem contagious. Practically all the children in Swedish communities speak English with a slight but clearly recognizable Swedish accent. Children who grow up in homes where immigrant parents use English are certain to imitate the parents and consequently to speak poorly, even to including some of the more flagrant errors

of Swedish immigrant English, such as "wen" for "when," and "iss" for "is." Training in school removes the worst defects but by no means all. The marks of early defective teaching remain upon the individual's speech through life. In the third and fourth generations the accent may become so slight as to elude description. But it is still noticeable to a close observer. The stress of a syllable or the turn of a phrase betrays the foreign influence long since forgotten.

Learning to speak, read, and write English does not complete the process of acculturation as it is connected with language. Every individual has a name, all but inseparably attached to him, which is also a part of the language and which must be anglicized in some degree if it is to fit into the American environment. Acculturation in the field of language includes, therefore, the name changes which take place among the Swedes while they are in process of becoming Americans.

Name changes do not occur as easily and freely as other linguistic changes, due to the fact that the written form of the personal name has great significance in literate society. The attempts of individuals to retain the familiar pronunciation, the spelling, and the meaning of their names makes for numerous difficulties.

As they affect surnames the changes take place in three distinct ways, namely, in pronunciation, in spelling, and by substitution of totally different names. Changes in pronunciation affect virtually every Swedish name brought to America. The few exceptions are found in the case of short names made up of sounds represented by the same letters in both languages; for example, Beck, Blom. Many names are only slightly changed in pronunciation. Among these are Anderson, Carlson, Lind. Others present combinations of letters which when phonetically interpreted by English-speaking people yield sounds quite unrecognizable

by Swedes as pronunciations of the same names. Immigrants with such names are forced to adopt new pronunciations in order to reconcile the sounds and the orthography according to the English system. As examples of names in which American pronunciation differs widely from the Swedish may be mentioned Berg, Björk, Hjelm, Källberg, Kilander, Sjöholm. In some instances, a desire to retain the pronunciation has prompted the possessors of names like these to change the spelling so that the names may be pronounced approximately as in the original tongue. Examples of names so altered are: Bergman to Beryman; Björklund to Burklund; Källberg to Chalberg; Nygren to Newgren; Jungkvist to Youngquist. In still other instances, as a result of the difficulty of anglicizing the name, or of accident, or simply the desire for another name, Swedes have taken names in America quite different from those with which they arrived. Thus a man named Johnson, wishing to avoid being mistaken for one of the countless numbers bearing the same name, chose to be called Bring, and so signed himself. A man named Quist was accidentally called Krist by his first employer. He adopted the mistaken name instead of his own. Frithiof has been given up for Free; Peterson for Smith. Thus Swedish surnames through elimination or changes in spelling or pronunciation or both become adapted for use in the American community.

Given names are subject to the same modifications as the surnames and to others in addition. Many Swedish given names have counterparts in English which are usually adopted by the immigrants. This kind of change is illustrated by the following: Johan to John; Anders to Andrew; Frans to Frank; Maria to Mary. If the given name will not yield to this kind of manipulation, a nickname takes its place for conversational purposes and the name itself is lost in a signature using only the initials.

The most conspicuous changes in given names do not occur in modifications of names already attached to persons, but in the selections of names for children. Here the desires of the parents are given free reign, inasmuch as they may give their child any name they choose. Insofar as names are more or less American in character, the name bestowed upon a child by Swedish parents furnishes an excellent index to the degree of acculturation reached by the parents. If the name selected is Swedish and not suited for use in the American environment, the parents are plainly ignorant of or unmindful of the future needs of their child. If they give the child an American name, their so doing shows a friendly attitude toward American culture, a wish to make Americans out of their children, and a sufficient knowledge of the American repertoire of names to make a selection. The extent to which the Swedish immigrants actually do choose American names for their children, indicates that they are quite generally motivated by a desire to become Americans as quickly as possible. Their children carry the tendency still further, so that the given names of the members of the third generation include relatively few traces of Swedish influence. However, the names are not quite identical with those of Americans, due probably to the large proportion of odd or invented names which in the imperfect observation of Swedish-American parents sound American. Among the names which are not genuinely American nor yet Swedish are the following: Edron, Hartwin, Wilburn, Aily, Mancie, Waldine. The desire of second-generation parents to choose American names often gives absurd results because of the parents' ignorance of what really is American. Examples of extravagant names encountered among the Texas Swedes include the following: Emergina, Orabell, Lenwold, Dorace, Je Nell.

Because of the diagnostic value of given names in the determination of the rate and degree of acculturation it is desirable to have a comparison of the names common in the several generations with an American norm. The results of such a comparison, quantitatively stated, will indicate the similarity of the cultures of the Swedish and American groups. Data for a comparison of this kind were secured by taking at random lists of 1,000 names of men or boys of the first, second, and third generations of Swedes in Texas. These were compared with a list of 1,000 names secured by random choice from the student directory of the University of Texas. The list of student names was assumed for several reasons to represent a normal American group. In the first place, the student group consists almost entirely of individuals who are native born of native parents. Second, the foreign influence in Texas, as compared with most other parts of the United States, has been slight. Third, the students in the University of Texas are nearly all from the state of Texas, a condition which precludes the influence of cultures from outside the state. The students represent fairly well the people from whom the Swedes in Texas must learn American ways. The list of names was refined by the omission of all Mexican names and the names of foreign students.

The lists show conspicuous changes in the given names of the Swedes. The names of immigrants have much less variety than do the names of their children or their children's children. Only 111 different names were found in the immigrant group; the second generation had 200; the third, 257. This indicates a gradual approach to the American norm, which had 340 different names in the sample of 1,000. Marked changes in spelling may also be observed, especially between the first and second generations. Natanael, Nikolaus, Anders, and Frans appear subsequently

as Nathaniel, Nicholas, Andrew, and Frank, respectively. Names which are hard to pronounce in English or which sound foreign or which do not for other reasons fit into the American naming system tend to disappear. Gustaf, for example, appears 69 times in the first-generation list, 22 times in the second, and only six in the third. Axel goes from 27 in the first generation to six and two appearances in the second and third, respectively. Similar tendencies may be noted in the case of the other names which occur frequently in the immigrant group. At the same time American names increase in frequency. William as Wilhelm occurs six times in the list for the first generation. In the second it occurs ten times; in the third, 15. Charles, James, Elmer, and Louis are not found in the immigrant group, but occur with increasing frequency in the second and third generations.

These changes indicate a fairly rapid movement toward the adoption of purely American names. The comparison gives some measure of the rate of progress. In the case of the first generation, 73 names were duplicated in the American and Swedish lists. In the second generation there were 372 duplications; in the third, 401. Perfect identity of two groups of names chosen at random of course will never be attained. The acculturation of Swedish names, however, may be considered complete when the Swedish samples agree with the American samples as well as the American samples agree among themselves.

RELIGIOUS PERSONALITY TYPES

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JUST AS a foot-race classifies the contestants according to their ability to "run the good race," so a rapidly shifting social order such as ours is a good testing ground for the more general abilities brought into play in making a total personal adjustment to environment. People differ in two ways in meeting this test: some are emotionally more susceptible than others, and some are more intellectually acute in discriminating values and inconsistencies between sets of values. According to tests of these factors, persons may be divided into personality types, somewhat as runners may be divided into classes at the end of a 100-yard dash.

An early and rather crude attempt to so classify persons was made by William James at the beginning of this century. He grouped all people according to temperament as "tough-minded" and "tender-minded."¹ The former he characterized as rough-shod in their handling of religious dogma, being more responsive to new scientific developments than to authoritative religious statements; the latter he characterized as "religious" idealists, supporters of the present organized religious institutions. A. B. Wolfe later made a threefold classification of personality types into Conservatives, Radicals, and Scientific Minds.² W. I.

¹ See William James, *Pragmatism* (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1907), pp. 12-18.

² See A. B. Wolfe, *Conservatism, Radicalism and the Scientific Mind*, Ch. II, especially pp. 11-13. Wolfe further subdivides these types, indicating two degrees of conservatism (reactionary and conservative), and two degrees of radicalism (liberal and radical).

Thomas has given one of the most careful descriptions of these three types, which he calls the Philistine, the Bohemian and the Creative Personality type.³ While the above-mentioned classifications apply to general personality types, they fit equally well in describing segmented personality types, such as the political, familial, or religious personality types.

The original classification of religious personality types described below was worked out in an attempt to classify the religious personality types found in a study of the Disciples of Christ in Los Angeles. A comparison of the classification herein presented with those already described is easily seen in the following chart:

CHART I

RELIGIOUS PERSONALITY TYPES

	I	II	III
Active Members	Fundamentalist	Modernist	Progressive
Inactive Members	Backslider	Heretic	Individualist
Corresponding general types described by:			
James	Tender-minded	Tough-minded	-----
Wolfe	Conservative	Radical	Scientific Mind
Thomas	Philistine	Bohemian	Creative Mind

The general characteristics of these types are outlined in the same order in Chart II:

³ For a careful statement of Thomas' classification, see W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (George H. Doran Co., New York, 1918, second edition, Vol. II), pp. 1853-1859. This entire reference should be read in this connection.

CHART II

CHARACTERISTICS OF RELIGIOUS PERSONALITY TYPES

I	II	III
Seems relatively insensitive to intellectual inconsistencies, somewhat as unmusical are insensitive to discordant notes.	Seems relatively supersensitive to intellectual inconsistencies, as some artists for whom a few discordant notes spoil a concert.	Though sensitive to emotional appeal, an attempt to use this appeal while ignoring or violating intellectual organization results in opposite emotion from the one desired.
Motivated by old emotional stimuli more than by new intellectual stimuli.	Motivated by new intellectual stimuli more than by old emotional stimuli.	Motivated about equally by emotion and intellect.
When faced with a new element or a series of such, as in migration from rural to urban centers, the tendency is to minimize the importance of the new and exaggerate the importance of the old.	When faced with a new element or a series of such, as in migration from rural to urban centers, the tendency is to minimize the importance of the old and exaggerate the importance of the new.	When faced with a new element or a series of such, as in migration from rural to urban centers, the tendency is to evaluate carefully the elements in both old and new, retaining the best in the old, accepting the best in the new, creating a new synthesis of experience.
Mostly older people, and church pillars, whose life organization is "set" before new elements came into their lives.	Mostly young people, whose life organization is plastic when new elements intruded themselves into their lives.	Relatively few here, mostly intellectually trained.

A careful definition and illustration of each of the three active types and the three inactive types will clarify their characteristics and interrelations.

A. ACTIVE CHURCH MEMBERS

I. The *Fundamentalist* is the religious type who clings tenaciously to the old familiar (i.e., "fundamental") religious beliefs and practices, resisting vigorously all attempts to weaken or change them in order to adapt their religious beliefs to the current developing or changing knowledge.

The churches of today have lost their clear vision of truth, of "the eternal verities." By that I mean that they no longer accept the authority of the Bible as the infallible word of God. They have been seized by ministers trained in the rationalistic philosophy by our institutes and seminaries which failed to resist but meekly accepted such encroachments. They have attempted to supplant faith by reason.—DR. J. OLIVER BUSWELL, President of Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, in a statement given out to newspaper reporters during the World's Christian Fundamentalist Association in Los Angeles, June, 1930.

II. The *Modernist* is the religious type who, seeing the weakness of the position of the Fundamentalist, has reacted against it and tends to become an extremist in the opposite direction. Being strongly conditioned previously to loyalty to the church or in an environment congenial to his viewpoint, he remains in the church but tries to work out extreme reforms. His attitude toward the Fundamentalist is one of hostility. A large majority of church members approach the Fundamentalist type rather than the Modernistic type. It is difficult to create a strong emotional loyalty to new ideas, so most potential Modernists drop out of active relations with the church and drift into the more numerous class of "Heretics" which are described below.

Says a Modernist minister in a published sermon, in explaining the "loosening hold of the church on the twentieth century,"

(One reason is) its dishonesty, its absolute untruthfulness, its deep-dyed insincerity. It still claims to believe, and even believes it believes, a whole lot of out-grown doctrine which it has long since thrown away. Preachers, overawed by the conservatism of their influential contributors, do not hesitate to declare over and over positions which they know to be false. It seems cruel to blame these preachers because the loss of their places may mean loss of bread and butter for their families. Most laymen do not read, do not think, and yet presume to assert their intellectual opinions and prejudices blatantly and browbeat their ministers into cowardly subjection. . . . A dishonest church and a cowering ministry can never lay hold upon a stalwart generation of men and women.

This statement is seen by the unbiased observer to be an overstatement of the case. Churchmen are not cruel, ignorant taskmasters "browbeating their ministers into cowardly subjection," and insincerity is not an outstanding characteristic of ministers as a class. An examination was made anonymously during this study of the beliefs of ministers of the Disciples of Christ in Los Angeles, and they were found to be almost if not quite as conservative in their beliefs as their parishoners.

Modernists have never been able to organize as strong an organization as the World Christian Fundamentalist Association, but they have literally dotted the world with new sects and "isms" and have done much to prepare the religious world for institutional change. Modernists are usually in the vanguard of new religious movements while Fundamentalists are the "pillars" supporting the accepted religious institutions.

III. The *Progressive* is the religious type who has avoided the extreme conservatism of the Fundamentalist and the radicalism of the Modernist, and has achieved a constructive combination of the two traits of intellectual ability and emotional stability and balance beyond the reach of either Fundamentalist or Modernist. While relatively few in number, as Thomas has pointed out about the Creative type,⁴ the Progressive is influential far out of pro-

⁴ See Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 1903.

portion to his numbers, for he achieves a working relationship with both of the other religious camps and leads them toward a common goal.

The traits of the Modernist and the Progressive are often confused. The following chart may help to disentangle the two by placing them side by side for comparison.

CHART III

DISTINGUISHING TRAITS OF MODERNIST AND PROGRESSIVE

Modernist

Antagonistic attitude toward older religious beliefs and exaggerated loyalty to newer religious beliefs; a corresponding conflict attitude toward Fundamentalists.

Like the Fundamentalist, he tends to evolve a *closed* system of beliefs and to erect emotional barriers against data which do not fit his system.

Overlooks the basic value of older religious beliefs in focusing on their weaknesses; correspondingly, he minimizes the virtues of the Fundamentalist and exaggerates his faults.

Advocates and attempts extreme reforms which blindly disregard the older values and which arouse the antagonism of the Fundamentalists.

Progressive

Open-minded evaluative attitude toward older religious beliefs and newer religious beliefs alike; a corresponding cooperative conciliatory attitude toward Fundamentalists.

He tends to evolve a *tentative* system of beliefs which involves a constant search for new ideas by which he may test the validity of his system of beliefs.

Distinguishes carefully between the values and weaknesses of the older religious beliefs, and of the Fundamentalist type, and tends to assign the proper values to each; his criticisms are constructive, attempting to develop the better traits.

Is content to work out milder reforms which recognize the values of the older beliefs and which win the cooperation and support of the Fundamentalists.

"I am holding tight to my older religious beliefs until I can find something better," writes a perplexed college student who was trying to work out his religious beliefs so

they would agree with his newly found knowledge. This attitude, made permanent by an ever-growing mind and made stable by the gradual accumulation of a relatively permanent set of beliefs tested by experience is the attitude of the truly Progressive type.

B. INACTIVE CHURCH MEMBERS

I. The *Backslider* is the religious type whose beliefs, like those of the Fundamentalist, have not changed in spite of the fact that his religious institution does not fit his environment, but who has become inactive because of superior demands of other needs and institutions or because some shocking crisis experience not involving religious beliefs but associating the church in an unpleasant experience has dulled his loyalty to the church but not affected materially his religious beliefs. He is, like the Fundamentalist, ruled more by his emotions than by his intellect, and the difficulty which results in his inactive role as a member of the church is not a matter of religious beliefs or creeds as in the case of the Heretic, who will be the next type described.

Common illustrations of this type are the college student, or the country-dweller who moves to the city, who was a leader in religious life at home but is in an environment where strong demands of a competing nature with religious activities are made upon his time and attention, and although the validity of the older religious beliefs is never questioned, religious loyalty is gradually undermined by competing interests and activities.

II. A *Heretic* is defined by Webster's *New International Dictionary* as "One who holds to a heresy; especially one who having made a profession of Christian belief, deliberately and pertinaciously upholds a doctrine varying from

that of his church, or rejects one prescribed by his church." For our purposes, the Heretic may be thought of as the religious type who, like the Modernist, has reacted against the conservative position of the Fundamentalist, but unlike the Modernist, having insufficient emotional ties to hold him, has deserted the church. There are many more Heretics than Modernists because it is much easier to drop out of an unpleasant situation than to stay and try to make conditions better. While the stumbling block for the Backslider is predominantly experiential and emotional, for the Heretic it is predominantly intellectual and theological.

In a church of the fundamentalist type, I was taught that the pastor was a "constituted authority of the church, a chosen messenger and interpreter of the Word of God." I established an attitude of faith in him. (1) The pastor taught that Genesis must be accepted literally, that all men are equal, etc. (2) I have had occasion to study Comparative Anatomy, Cosmology, and Psychology, and in accordance with various of their primary concepts am forced to believe that the pastor was utterly in the wrong. (3) In the light of this new experience and knowledge and because of what the pastor taught, I must conclude that he was a stupid man, an ignorant man, an emotionally prejudiced man or a deceitful man. And if he possesses any of these traits, I cannot have unquestioning faith in him. Hence, my attitude is one of suspicion and doubt.

In this case, as in all such cases of difficulty, the Heretic does not re-canvass the situation to divide the valid beliefs from the invalid ones, but rather becomes suspicious and doubtful of the total situation and all its elements.

III. The *Individualist* is a religious type who has broken with organized religion through some historically explainable cause, but who is sufficiently capable intellectually and stable or balanced emotionally to be able to work out a private religious system which is adequate for his re-

ligious needs.⁵ Under more favorable environmental conditions the Individualist would have become a Progressive working with organized religion toward the solution of the problems of the church. Like the latter, the Individualist is relatively rare in a given group, for the simple reason that there are relatively few people with his superior intellectual and emotional qualities.

Mr. C. is the son of a family from a well known and distinguished line of Christian leaders. He has had an excellent religious heritage. His fine personal abilities have won for him a place of high prominence on a large university faculty. His earlier years were spent as an active member of the church. Until his interest began to wane in the church, he held positions of trust and leadership in it, such as those of church elder and Bible School teacher.

But gradually it became apparent to him that he was not in full agreement with the beliefs and practices of the church. A series of incidents stretching over a period of years gradually undermined the earlier religious integration which his childhood and youth had built up. "No one experience stands out as particularly significant," he writes, referring to this disintegrating process, "but perhaps the final touch was given by an incident in a Bible School class.

"I was invited to give a series of three lectures in a Men's Bible Class. The group turned out to be a highly emotionalized conservative group, though it was in one of our leading churches. The first lecture was rather coolly received. The second lecture received such a poor response that I excused myself and did not deliver the third lecture. I came away from this experience feeling 'Oh, what's the use?' "

Mr. C. sums up his present attitude toward the church as follows:

My present attitude is friendly, but rather indifferent. I really find that I am not interested in what they are doing, and do not feel the need of worshipping with the church. I have a definite feeling of "not belonging" and a slight feeling of *embarrassment* when I attend a service.

⁵ The term "individualist" was borrowed from W. I. Thomas. See his definition in *The Unadjusted Girl* (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1923), p. 86.

When asked if he had any technique of his own for meeting his religious needs, he replied:

I have a sort of meditation period—usually late in the evening. I often read Plato, Browning or the Bible. And in this time I try to fit together and balance the whole of life. It is not prayer, but it is not far from it.

POPULATION INCREASE ACCORDING TO FARM STATUS*

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A GENERAL PRINCIPLE relating to vital processes is that the social classes which have the highest birth rates also have the highest death rates. Both the birth rates and the death rates of the lower social strata are higher than those of the populations of the upper strata of the society.¹ Admittedly, there are exceptions to this law of population increase; especially is this a frequent occurrence when the universe taken is a single large occupational or economic group, such as capitalists, professionals, skilled laborers, or farmers. One frequently encounters the belief that the increase in the farm population is mostly from the lower grades of farmers. Again, it is contended that the more fortunate farmers owe their success in a large measure to the cheap labor supply that comes from biological prolificacy. An examination of factual data bearing upon these apparently conflicting theories is the task to which the present paper is devoted.

From a total of 1,362 farms surveyed in the cotton growing section of Oklahoma we have here information for 1,032 families, which we shall examine first of all. Each family in this group has been in existence for twenty years

* This paper, which was read before the Social Science Section of the Oklahoma Academy of Science at the Annual Meeting held in Tulsa, November 28-29, 1930, is a modification of a portion of a forthcoming study by O. D. Duncan and J. T. Sanders entitled "A Study of Certain Economic Factors in Relation to Social Life Among Oklahoma Cotton Farmers."

¹ See P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (Harpers, 1927), pp. 345-355, for an adequate discussion of this particular point.

or longer. We have discarded all others for the time being for the specific purpose of having reasonably well completed families for study. The childbearing potentiality of the majority of the women represented in this way may be considered as practically exhausted. Furthermore, this method eliminates most of the possible changes in the tenure status of the families. What few changes of this type there may be after twenty years, will generally be of little moment.

TABLE I

AVERAGE NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS OF CHILDREN PER 100 FAMILIES
FOR OPERATORS WHO HAVE BEEN MARRIED 20 YEARS OR
MORE BY TENURE OF OPERATOR²

TENURE CLASSES	Total Families Existing for 20 Years or More	Average Births per 100 Families	Average Deaths per 100 Families (Children)	Average Living Children per 100 Families	Average Number of Deaths per 100 Births
<i>All Classes</i>	1,032	420	22	398	5.2
All Owners	366	430	28	402	6.4
All Tenants	666	410	19	391	4.5
Full Owners	270	420	25	395	5.9
Part Owners	96	470	36	434	7.8
Share and Cash Tenants	579	420	19	401	4.5
Croppers	87	360	17	343	4.8

If division according to tenure status may be considered as roughly tantamount to social differentiation among farmers, we may assert that, according to the data in Table I, there is a tendency for the fertility of farmers to rise with

² For a description and a definition of the terminology pertaining to different tenures, see W. B. Bizzell, "Farm Tenure in the United States," Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 278, 1921, pp. 95 ff.

social status, which is contrary to the general law of differential fertility of social classes.

Again referring to Table I, we see that full-owner farm families have 420 children born per 100 wives, part-owner families have 470 children per 100 wives; cash-and-share tenants have 420 births per 100 wives, and croppers, half-and-half tenants, have only 360 children born per 100 wives. Combining both types of owners into one group, and all grades of tenants into another, we find that owners have 430 children born per 100 marriages and tenants have only 410 births per 100 marriages. It must be remembered that all these families have been in existence for 20 years or more. These figures show that tenant farmers procreate in both absolute and relative numbers fewer children, per 100 wives, than owner families.

On the other hand, the data show that owner families lose by death 6.4 children per 100 births while tenant families have a death loss of only 4.5 children per 100 births. In other words, owner families lose 19 more children per 1,000 births than do the tenant families. The owner families have sufficiently high birth rates that, even with the comparatively high death rate of their children, they are able to rear 402 children per 100 mothers to maturity, while tenants are able to bring up only 391 children, per 100 mothers to maturity. However, this comparatively lower rate of maturation for tenants is due to the lowness of their birth rates rather than to the supposed enormity of their children's death rates.³

³ It was found that the average amount spent by farmers for health per adult unit was \$16 per year for full owners, \$19 for part owners, \$17 for S. and C. tenants, and \$13 per year for croppers. (See Duncan and Sanders, *op. cit.*, Table X, p. 35 of the MS.) This indicates that owner farmers do not exert as much care for the health of their children in proportion to their ability as we have a right to expect. Furthermore, it is a general phenomenon that the death rate tends to rise concomitantly with the birth rate. This is probably due to added strain upon the mother caused by excessive child-bearing.

From the entire sample of 1,362 farms there were 103 schedules which were discarded altogether, either because the operators had never married or because the enumerators failed to procure complete information as to tenure, length of married life, and the number of births that had occurred in the family. This left a usable sample of 1,259 families representing marriages of all lengths of duration. The data for them are shown in Table II.

The breaking of the sample into four marital groups exposes a somewhat erratic fluctuation in the birth rates of different tenure classes. This is in a large measure induced by the smallness in the absolute number of families within certain limits of married life. Furthermore, the part-owner group quite generally shows tendencies which cannot be accounted for by a simple inspection of the data.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY TENURE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE,
SHOWING THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF BIRTHS PER 100 WIVES
IN EACH CASE

Duration of Marriages in 10 year periods	Total Number of Families in all Tenure Classes	Births per 100 Marriages for all Tenure Classes (Ave.)	Full Owner		Part Owner		Share-Cash Tenant		Cropper	
			Number of Families	Births per 100 Wives (Ave.)	Number of Families	Births per 100 Wives (Ave.)	Number of Families	Births per 100 Wives (Ave.)	Number of Families	Births per 100 Wives (Ave.)
All Groups	1,259	359	376	356	96	416	684	363	103	278
Up										
to 9 yrs.	278	166	56	171	9	156	174	174	39	128
10 to 19	388	352	95	321	31	345	233	366	29	359
20 to 29	334	473	116	385	29	465	170	530	19	447
30 and over	259	569	109	567	27	637	107	551	16	587

Another influence which may partially explain the irregularities of the data in Table II is the volatility of the tenant-cropper classes. The study referred to above shows

that only about 45.0 per cent of all farmers 60 years of age or over belonged in the tenant and cropper classes combined, while 83.1 per cent of all farmers under 30 years of age belonged in these two classes.⁴ This leaves only a small percentage of all farmers who remain permanently in the tenant classes. Thus, among the various tenant classes there is a large proportion of potential and prospective farm owners within the childbearing period of life. Of this element we should expect that their rates of generation would very nearly conform to those of owner farmers. This may show the birth rates of tenant farmers in intermediate marital intervals to be relatively higher while those of tenants in the extreme intervals are relatively lower than for owner farmers.

These data (Table II) confirm to a great extent our contention set forth in preceding paragraphs, namely, that it is the small minority of tenant farmers as a class, those who are chronically inert, that give any justification for the popular belief in the disproportionate fecundity of tenant farmers. Consider for a moment those families that are within their first ten years of existence. In this group, the fertility of cropper women, the lowest in tenure status, is the lowest for any tenure class, and that of share-cash renters is not appreciably higher than the fertility of full-owner women of the same age. This indicates, taking Ely's position as a starting point, that these young tenant families have a higher standard of living than is usually imputed to them.⁵ Furthermore, we observe that it is only among those families that have been married 30 years or

⁴ See Duncan and Sanders, *op. cit.*, Table V, p. 17 of the Manuscript.

⁵ R. T. Ely, *Outlines of Economics* (3rd Rev. Ed., Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 438. Ely defines "Standard of Living" as the number and character of wants which a man considers more important than marriage and a family. By a deductive process one may reason that Ely would agree that if his definition be carried to its logical conclusion, restriction in the size of families may be considered as evidence of rising standards of living.

more that the number of births among cropper women exceeds that of share-cash tenants. Although during the two decades of married life, between 10 and 29 years, the birth rates of owners as a class are somewhat lower than that of tenants as a class, there are in the first half of this period many potential owners who in no way can be considered permanent tenants. They are owners in process of making, as our previous statement concerning the age of farmers clearly proves.⁶

TABLE III

CRUDE FERTILITY OF FARM FAMILIES BY TENURE CLASSES
(Not standardized for age and duration of marriage)

TENURE CLASSES	Total Families	Per Cent of Total Families	Total Children	Per Cent of Total Children	Percentage Ratio of Actual to Expected Fertility
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)*
<i>All Classes</i>	1259	100.0	3592	100.0	100.0
All Owners	472	37.5	1501	41.8	111.5
All Tenants	787	62.5	2091	58.2	93.1
Full Owners	376	29.9	1102	30.7	102.7
Part Owners	96	7.6	399	11.1	146.4
S. and C. Tenants	684	54.3	1805	50.2	92.4
Croppers	103	8.2	286	8.0	97.6

* Column e = $\frac{\text{Column d}}{\text{Column b}} \times 100$.

⁶ For an excellent paper on differential fertility, see Edgar Sydenstricker and Frank W. Notestein, "Differential Fertility According to Social Class," *Jour. Amer. Statistical Association*, Vol. XXV, New series No. 169; they have a sample of 43,352 women from the rural districts of the United States taken from the 1910 Census. They show that for the rural population there is a definite and consistent inverse relation between fertility and the customary ranking in social classes. Their data show that the differences in this relationship are less for the rural population than for the urban. These writers have used *rural* instead of *farm* population, and have made no allowance for potential or actual mobility on the agricultural ladder. Yet their conclusions do not invalidate those indicated here.

The data given in Table III summarize in a rough way the findings of this study. Although these figures show only the gross fertility of the total number of families in each tenure group, they give us an idea of the comparative importance of each tenure class in the production of farm population for the oncoming generation. This picture shows the outlook for the future origin of the farm population as it appeared at the moment when the survey was made.

All in all, the data presented in this paper indicate that the owning classes have a higher fecundity than the tenant classes. At the rates of natural increase which these data show, there is a differential in favor of farm owners. If this is a true account of what is happening among cotton farmers generally, there is a negative rate of increase now operating among tenant farmers. Rather than creating a surplus of population, the tenant classes are to some extent being recruited from the owning classes themselves. Of course, tenancy for the children of farm owners is only a temporary condition. But, so it is for a large percentage of the children of renting farmers also. In spite of the fact that the majority of all farmers in Oklahoma are renters of one sort or another, there is a high degree of social climbing among them, so that by the time old age is reached tenant farmers are considerably in the minority.

Having seen that the birth rate is higher on the whole for owners than for renters, and that almost half of the renters at 30 years of age are potentially owners before the age of 60 is reached, it seems reasonable to conclude that the actual fertility rates, both gross and net, of the "chronic" permanent tenant farmers are really lower than the data show them to be when no allowance is made for social capillarity within the farm population. On the whole, when we use tenure status as a rough index of socio-economic

advancement among farmers, the data used in this study indicate, with admitted variations, that the owning classes are considerably more fertile than renters in the production of human offspring, if proportions are considered. However, this does not imply that there is a progressive and uniformly positive correlation between tenure status and fertility. Tenure status is not susceptible to a sufficiently nice definition to enable it to fluctuate freely without dependence upon a great number of factors, each of which may have as significant an influence as the birth rate.

These data have furnished an example of how exceptions may take place in any general law. However, the fact that an exception has been found does not nullify the general principle relating to vital processes. It should, in this case, cause those who contend that tenant farmers are the principal sources of increase in the farm population to re-examine their premises, and determine whether or not such fears are based upon the supposed evil of tenancy as a phase of our agricultural system or upon the relative numerical importance of different tenure groups. If tenant farmers increase disproportionately in the future, the chances seem small that the increment will be due simply to an humble obedience to the biblical injunction that they be fruitful and multiply.

PROBLEMS OF SECOND GENERATION CHINESE

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THIS REPORT is based upon a study of the American-born Chinese as a local problem of the City of Los Angeles, where the writer has sojourned for three years, during which time she had opportunity to get acquainted with members of this group. This group was not studied as a typical group, but as a representative one, that is, representative of the American-born Chinese as based on the assumption that since people are more or less alike fundamentally what is discovered in Los Angeles may apply also to other cities. In other words, the attitudes of the American-born Chinese in Los Angeles may be the common attitudes of the American-born Chinese in the other cities. While this study has not been undertaken with any practical end in view and is not based upon any thesis of social reform, it has a definite purpose—to discover the attitudes of the American-born Chinese in Los Angeles toward the American and the Chinese culture; their family life, social life, occupational attitudes, neighborhood relationship, recreation conditions, and citizenship. To what extent are these factors sources of the conflict in their minds? What problems do they produce in the community?

HOME SITUATION

In the Chinese homes in which the American-born Chinese is found there is a great social distance between the older and younger generations. The difference in the social heritages of the two generations is responsible. The Amer-

ican-born Chinese have had their most vital contacts with American life through the American school, which represents a social world largely unknown to their parents. As a result, the home is really the place where the two cultures meet. Since conflict is the result of lack of understanding between the persons having different points of view, we discover conflict between the parents and children due to the clash of the two cultures. The conflict process is usually followed by the process of accommodation, and we find that many of the parents and American-born children in the Chinese homes are arriving at some kind of accommodation. However, since the majority of the American-born Chinese drift away from the older generation and their Asiatic heritage, many are still not accommodating themselves to the situation. In many instances, the younger generation have too strong an inclination to regard their parents' ideals and customs as old-fashioned, without stopping to find out any of their virtues; while the people of the older generation expect the young people to be as they were. In some instances, the young people are eager to follow the pattern set by the American family, but limited contact gives them inadequate ideas. Some American-born children do not appreciate the point of view of the parents and in rebellion against their control throw off the restraining and directing influences of home before they have learned self-control or have been able to make wholesome adjustments to the new order.

EDUCATIONAL SITUATION

The American educational institutions are the places where the American-born Chinese have their contacts with American life and where they acquire the occidental culture. They are encouraged by their parents to go to these

institutions, and most of them enjoy going to school and their school work. The teachers and the school officers almost invariably report favorably on their work and the attitudes and on the cooperation of the parents. The teacher-student and principal-student relationships are generally friendly. There is very little, if any, truancy or juvenile delinquency among this group. With the schoolmates the relationship is different. The racial consciousness of this group usually develops through association with their schoolmates. Generally, in grammar schools they do not feel any racial prejudice, but they find it growing stronger and stronger as they proceed to the higher educational institutions. They feel keenly that the American boys and girls do not accept them in their groups. Although the schools generally have no discrimination against the American-born Chinese in the extra-curricular activities, the attitudes of their schoolmates are sufficient to bar them from participating in these activities. They have little chance to hold office even though they are admitted as active members of the student organizations. They have no part in the school social life except among their own people. This situation tends to make them withdraw from association with the Americans and associate only with their own group in school.

OCCUPATIONAL SITUATION

As the result of the American education the American-born Chinese are dissatisfied with their parents' social and economic status in the community. They tend to break away from their parents' immigrant status and intend to become fused into the American-group. With this desire, in addition to their parents' encouragement, their friends' influence and their own ambitions, many of them are pre-

paring themselves for some kind of profession or skilled occupation where they may be on an equality with American white citizens. In contrast with their ambitious desire, as they step into the American community, they encounter discriminations against them in almost every occupational field except those not desired by the Americans. Almost all of them, even those who have secured positions in the American community, feel that the Americans are not willing to give them an occupational opportunity. They also feel keenly that the Americans have prejudices against them not because they are not worthy, but because they belong to the yellow race. In spite of this fact, those who have been able to secure positions in the American community usually maintain happy friendly relationships with their employers. The occupational discrimination has produced at least four different attitudes toward their life work on the part of young American-born Chinese: (1) in many instances they are looking more to China for their life work; (2) some seek their social status in the Chinese community here; (3) a few believe that they should struggle for their opportunity by competing with the Americans, and plan their future in America without considering the difficulties which they will face, hoping that they will be employed by Americans on the basis of merit; and, (4) in contrast with the third attitude is that of hopelessness, of "what is the use?"

RECREATIONAL LIFE

While American education inspires the American-born Chinese with the ambition to secure economic and social status in the American community, it also stirs up their interest in American athletic games, sports, dancing, music, motion pictures, and other American amusements. They

do not have a craving for their parents' native music and drama, though some enjoy the literature in translation and most of them like Chinese art. They read only American books, magazines, and newspapers. The Chinese books and periodicals have no interest for them. The parents want them to use their spare time to do useful things such as reading, writing, sewing, practicing music, and drawing; while their American-born children go to social parties, theatres, playgrounds, gymnasiums, and swimming pools or the beaches for their recreation. Many of them spend part of their spare time learning to play musical instruments. But as they try to become fused into the American groups, they feel similar restrictions as in industrial life. They are restricted in their access to many phases of recreation in America. Many swimming pools and plunges deny them the privilege of using them. The social clubs and other organizations bar them from their circles. In certain instances they are not barred theoretically from these various institutions but are practically shut out by being made to feel uncomfortable. These rebuffs produce various results. Among the younger children are those who wish they could change the physical characteristics which label them. Many tend to feel isolated and uncomfortable in America. They have to stay as a group isolated from the American community and they must consequently look for social satisfactions in their own group.

NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIONSHIPS

If the American-born Chinese are denied equal opportunity in both industrial and recreational life on account of the physical characteristics of their ancestry, they are also discriminated against in regard to opportunity to live among the Americans for the same reason. "Chinatown"

generally is regarded unfavorably by the American-born Chinese. The majority living there wish to move out as soon as they have the chance. This is due to their dissatisfaction with the condition of "Chinatown" and their desire for better living conditions in the more beautiful residential districts of the American community. In addition, the desire for social recognition is a force leading the American-born Chinese to make definite plans for a new home outside of "Chinatown." As the people in the modern urban city are frequently classified according to the locality in which they live, the American-born Chinese wish to move into the district where they may be on equality with the American white citizens. In contrast with their desires is the fact that many houses and apartment houses in the American community are closed to them. They were sometimes told directly by the landlords that their houses are not rented to people having yellow faces, or sometimes they were refused indirectly with other excuses. Since the American-born Chinese desire to move out from "Chinatown" but are not acceptable in the better American residential areas, they have to look for some other district in the city. There is an increasing number of families moving into the district east of San Pedro and west of Central Avenue between Ninth and Thirty-sixth streets, in which are to be found people who have received similar prejudiced treatment from the Americans, such as Japanese, Mexicans, Negroes, and eastern Europeans. The neighborhood relationships of the Chinese in general are harmonious, no matter to what nationality their neighbors belong. The neighborhood relationships with their own people are frequently unusually friendly. Their traditional mutual-aid spirit is very evident among them.

CITIZENSHIP ATTITUDES

Since the American-born Chinese are sometimes treated by their schoolmates with prejudice, their participation in the school social life is to a certain extent limited; since they as a group are discriminated against in almost every field of occupation; since they are restricted in American recreational life; and since they are denied the opportunity to live among the Americans in the community, loyalty to America cannot logically be expected. In spite of the fact that they are legally and qualitatively American citizens, they are treated to all intents and purposes by the Americans as if they were aliens. This situation makes many of the American-born Chinese feel that they are American citizens only as far as having educational privileges, and voting rights are concerned. In general, however, while the American-born Chinese children are in grammar school, they are very proud of their American citizenship. As they advance in the schools and have more contact with the American community, they begin to feel discrimination against them and a race consciousness develops. They wake up from an illusion. Many feel disappointed and pass through a period of emotional disturbance. Some find satisfaction in returning to their own group, and say that they are very proud to belong to the Chinese race. Some maintain the attitude that they should organize themselves to struggle for their citizenship rights. Some are giving up their hope of being recognized as American citizens. The situation is complicated by the fact that while they are not fully accepted by the Americans, they also find that they have nothing in common with the older generation of Chinese. The Immigration Act of 1924, which prohibits the admission of the alien Chinese wife of an American citizen, has put more hardships on the American young men of

Chinese descent. Almost all of them feel that the act is not justified. They feel that this makes more apparent to them the fact that America regards them as aliens.

PROBLEMS

Evidently the problem of the American-born Chinese is the problem of the maladjustment of a group in the American community instead of the problem of assimilation and Americanization. Although American education has successfully made Americans of them, the American-born Chinese are not accepted as Americans. The problem is to discover what adjustment may be made when they are Americans by birth but are not accepted as Americans. The American-born Chinese are really in a difficult position. With their American ideas, thoughts, attitudes, and customs, they cannot feel at home with the Chinese people though they have a Chinese appearance. Because of their physical appearance, they are denied the opportunities to achieve the better social and economic status which they desire in the American community.

While an adjustment and accommodation may be made, the members of the older generation of Chinese who realize the situation usually warn their children of the difficulties they will face in this country, and urge them to study Chinese as a preparation for returning to China in case they fail to find employment in this country. Some of the older generation Chinese accommodate themselves to the situation by being tolerant toward the American ideas and customs, but some are facing the problems of the younger generation who rebel against parental control. To the older generation Chinese, the problem of the American-born Chinese can be solved if their Children look upon America as a temporary home where they obtain their education but

look to China as a permanent home where their life work is planned. They forget that China is a foreign country to their children. Furthermore, not all American-born Chinese are so fortunate as to be able financially to carry on the double curriculum, Chinese and American.

Many American white citizens are not aware of the problem, for the majority do not distinguish these persons of American birth from their elders of foreign birth. This group of American-born Chinese are regarded by the average Americans as unassimilable aliens and as such have no claim to be treated as American citizens. On the other hand, there is a group of sentimentalists who talk a great deal about the brotherhood of man and kindred subjects. This group may be aware of the problem but contribute nothing constructive toward solving it. Sometimes they give the young people an impression that the Americans are not sincere and do not act what they preach. Those who have been making close contacts with the American-born Chinese, such as the public school teachers, college professors, social workers, and some others appreciate the situation. Some of them are making efforts to bring about a better understanding and are thus assisting this unadjusted group in making an adjustment to American life.

RURAL INTELLIGENCE AND COLLEGE ACHIEVEMENT

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THIS STUDY is an attempt to develop one possible test situation, bearing on the hypothesis of rural mental inferiority. The purpose was to find some situation in which a number of rural and urban people were performing, under similar conditions, the same mental tasks, for which they had received as nearly equal preparation as possible, and where their success was rather closely measured and recorded. An approximation to such a situation available to the writer was offered by the students in the East Central Oklahoma Teachers College. It was decided to study a sample of 200 students in the first half of their freshman year, but members of different freshman classes of recent years. The plan evolved was to work out an index of "urbanness" for each of these students; then to correlate these indexes with their average grades made during their first semester in college, holding constant by partial correlation the average amount of time given to study and the student's age. It seemed that other factors, such as courses taken and instructor's bias, would be the same for rural and urban freshmen, since no selection of the two groups into different courses was discovered.

In the second semester of the college year 1929-'30, a questionnaire was drawn up which asked the students for the following information about themselves: (1) age at college entrance; (2) all places of residence during life, in-

cluding (a) the number of years residence in each locality, (b) if living outside of towns and villages, the number of miles and the time-distance from place of residence to each town with which there were customary contacts; and (c) the approximate population of these towns and villages during the period of contact with them; (3) the average number of hours given to study per week during the first semester of the freshman year; and (4) the courses taken and grades made during the same semester.

This questionnaire was carefully explained to members of the freshman and other classes in the Teachers College, and written answers were obtained on mimeographed forms from 210 students. This was done by visiting various classrooms with the consent of the instructors, in such a way as to get answers from a random sample of students, except that a majority of them belonged to the freshman class of 1929-'30. The filled-out questionnaires were then gone over, and the grades and ages were checked by college records. When anything dubious appeared in the answers of a student, he was re-visited and the doubt settled by personal questioning. As a result, 201 questionnaires were obtained which seemed satisfactory for the purposes of the study.

The first step in preparing the data for statistical treatment was to calculate the average grade for each student. The second step, after the population of the towns and cities mentioned in the students' answers had been corrected by the census figures, was to construct an index of "urbanness." The method of preparing the index can best be shown by working out an index for a hypothetical student. This student lived in two localities before entering the Teachers College. For eight years he resided 15 minutes from a village of 700 inhabitants. Later, his home for

10 years was 12 minutes from a town of 3,000. These facts are thrown into the formula:

$$U.I. = \sum \left(\frac{PR}{M \cdot A} \right)$$

where U.I. is the urban index; P is population of town; R is years residence; M is minutes out; and A is age of student at college entrance. In this case, the calculation would be:

$$U.I. = \left(\frac{700 \times 8}{15} + \frac{3000 \times 10}{12} \right) \div 18 = 142.$$

After calculating these urban indexes, their square roots were taken for three reasons: (1) it seemed that the square roots of the indexes would more accurately represent the degrees of urbanness than would the indexes themselves; (2) taking the square roots allowed finer grouping in the tables; and (3) this operation simplified the calculations.

The question will at once be raised as to what these urban indexes really measure. The answer is that they are intended to measure the most objective possible definition of "rural" and "urban," namely, the simple space-time distance of residence from, or residence in, towns and cities of different numbers of inhabitants. This definition corresponds rather accurately with both the popular and the sociological conceptions of "rural" and "urban," and with the meaning of those terms as they are used in the theory under examination. No effort is made to include the various subjective definitions of rural and urban in terms of attitudes and states of mind, since the writer does not know how to measure them, and since the criteria by which they

are designated "rural" or "urban" is, in the last analysis, their association with the spatial and population measurements which the above indexes represent.

Four series of variables, viz., average grades, X_1 ; urban indexes, X_2 ; average number of hours given to study per week, X_3 ; and ages at entering the Teachers College, X_4 , were now secured.

Correlation tables were next made and the six correlation coefficients of zero order calculated: $r_{12} = .03 \pm .07^1$ (Grades and U.I.); $r_{13} = .228 \pm .067$ (Grades and Study); $r_{14} = -.088 \pm .07$ (Grades and Age); $r_{23} = -.137 \pm .069$ (U.I. and Study); $r_{24} = -.19 \pm .068$ (U.I. and Age); $r_{34} = .17 \pm .068$ (Study and Age). None of these coefficients shows a significant relationship except r_{13} (Grades and Study), and this relationship is very low. All tables were found to be approximately linear, according to Blakeman's test.

The original intention to find the partial correlation coefficient between grades (X_1) and the urban indexes (X_2), holding ages (X_4) and hours study (X_3) constant, was abandoned at this point, since nothing would be gained by further manipulation of such low zero order coefficients.

The problem now shifted to examining several hypotheses, in an effort to explain the absence of significant correlations.

First, it is possible that the data may be inaccurate, and the results meaningless. The students' grades, however, are a matter of official record, and the error in this variable, X_1 , is nothing or negligible.² The urban indexes are not free from error; but they were carefully obtained, are objective, their errors presumably would be compensating, and when taken in random sub-samples of 50 their means were found to vary only within the limits of sampling

¹ Standard error.

² See the following paragraph for what these grades measure.

(maximum difference between any two means, 11.6 ± 10.8). The amount of study is also of course only an approximation of the truth; but here again the measure is objective, and the means of sub-samples of 50 show differences that can be accounted for by simple sampling alone (maximum difference between any two means, 2.22 ± 1.39). On the whole, it seems unlikely that inaccuracy of the original data can account for the complete lack of relationship found.

A second explanation may be that uncontrolled biased factors obscured the true correlations. This is always a probability in complex social situations. Yet analysis has failed to reveal any important factor, apart from those considered, that might not be expected to cancel out between the rural and urban groups studied. But it did seem advisable to inquire whether the grades at this Teachers College actually measure scholastic ability, or whether they are in the main mere reflections of the personality of the instructors. The average grade given by each instructor, based on a large number of students in from 5 to 15 classes, was calculated; these grades were averaged for each group of teachers instructing a student in a random sub-sample of 64 students taken from the 201 students included in the study; and these combined instructors' grades were correlated with the average grades of the 64 students. The correlation coefficient was $.16 \pm .12$, which indicates that the grades were not just functions of the instructors' personalities, but were determined by other factors. Since, further, the grades for the sample of 201 students conformed approximately to the normal curve, it is probable that they did at least roughly measure the scholastic achievements of the students.

A third interpretation would accept as correct the findings of the study, that no correlation exists between college grades and degrees of "urbanness," for the given sample of

students, who are representative of the student body in the East Central Oklahoma Teachers College. Assuming, in the absence of contradictory evidence, that this is the case, the study means that in east central Oklahoma on the average it makes no difference in the grades of a freshman in the Teachers College whether he was reared on a farm in the rural hinterland or in the largest town in the region with a population of 25,000 or 30,000. Moreover, it appears that the rural students have to make little more effort than the urban students to achieve the same grades ($r_{23} = -.137 \pm .069$).³ Also, the amount of effort is more closely correlated with the grades than is rural or urban origin ($r_{12} = .03 \pm .07$; $r_{13} = .228 \pm .067$); and neither of these factors is important compared to other unknown factors. The representatives of the rural schools in this territory are not noticeably inferior to those of the urban schools in scholastic achievements at the Teachers College.

Such a state of affairs could be due to a selection of rural students of superior ability and of urban students of average or inferior talents by the Teachers College. The most satisfactory test of this matter that occurred to the writer was to get the principals of the various high schools from which the Teachers College students graduated to rate these students according to their opinion of their mental ability in comparison with the other students in the same schools who did not enter the Teachers College. The registrar's office at the college had on file high school princi-

³ As a further check on this important point, an additional sample of 104 students in the Teachers College, chiefly freshmen, reported in October, 1930: (1) the average number of hours per week they had studied during the past two weeks (X_3); and (2) the population of the town or community in which they had graduated from high school (X_8). The correlation was: $r_{38} = -.214 \pm .094$. Although these coefficients (r_{23} and r_{38}) are extremely low, and could be accounted for by accidents of sampling, their agreement probably indicates that rural students study slightly more than urban students in the Teachers College.

pals' ratings of a random sample of 272 freshmen of 1929-'30, in which each student was described as Inferior, Low, Average, Superior, or Very Superior. Of these ratings 154 were from rural high schools (located outside of towns of 2,500 or more), and 118 were from urban high schools. The distribution of the students in this scale of ratings was worked out for each of the two groups; numerical values of 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 were assigned in order to the ratings from Inferior to Very Superior; and the means of the two distributions were calculated. The standard error of the difference between the two means was found to be within the limits of sampling ($M_1 - M_2 = .184 < 3$ or $< 3 (.162) < .486$). Both distributions were also roughly normal in form. As a further check, the principal of the Ada (city) High School, from which the largest number of students enter the Teachers College, was asked to rank his graduates of the past two years, who enrolled in the Teachers College, according to their standing in their respective classes. His rankings showed a negatively skewed distribution (37 per cent 90-100; 43 per cent 80-90; 20 per cent 70-80). These results evidently fail to show that the Teachers College draws superior students from the rural high schools, and inferior students from the urban high schools.

To summarize: Our study indicates that the rural students, with little more effort, equal the scholastic achievement of the urban students in the East Central Oklahoma Teachers College. It is the unanimous opinion of Oklahoma educators that the preparatory training of the rural students is much inferior to that of the urban students. A careful inquiry failed to establish a probability that the rural college students are more highly selected in mental ability than are the urban college students. In the face of these results, it may be said that this investigation gives no

support to the theory of rural mental inferiority in the population of east central Oklahoma.⁴

⁴This study has several defects. The representativeness of the samples, in the nature of the case, could not be conclusively established; the samples were small; and local factors were involved. For example, owing to the absence of large cities in the area covered, the range of the variable X_2 , the "urban indexes," is too limited to be typical of the nation. Yet it is probable that where urban development is greater, rural progress is greater. Also, it seems to be a sound general procedure to compare rural and urban people in the same region, rather than to make blanket comparisons.—AUTHOR.

CRIME IN WEST VIRGINIA

A Study in Correlations

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DO CERTAIN social and economic conditions, such as industry, agricultural wealth and population, etc., have any relation to crime in West Virginia? With this question in mind, this study was begun in September, 1930.

The purpose, then, of this study is to determine what, and to what extent, social and economic conditions have a significant positive or negative correlation with crime in this state.

Before any correlations could be made it was necessary to secure a crime index, figures that would give a ranking of the 55 counties in the amount of crime committed over a period of years. Since any figures of population—illiteracy, foreignborn, colored, farm and industrial groups—would involve census data, it was decided to secure figures for the years 1919-1928, inclusive.

West Virginia has no bureau or agency of criminal statistics. Figures for a crime index would have to be collected from the sources where they were recorded. It was arbitrarily decided to use the number of felony indictments for each of the ten years of the study as the data for the crime index. Misdemeanors were not considered.

Letters were sent to the circuit clerks of each of the 55 counties asking for the total number of felony indictments for each of the years 1919-1928. One clerk raised the objection that the total number of indictments would be in excess of the number of criminal acts, and would therefore

be too high an index for the crime of that county. However, it seems to the writer that over a period of years, in 55 counties, with a varied personnel in the prosecuting attorney offices, the ratio of criminal acts to indictments would approach uniformity.

Table I, abbreviated for lack of space, includes the number of felony indictments per county for each of the years 1919-1928. These numbers were averaged for each county. The counties were then ranked—that county having the highest average number of indictments per 1,000 population for ten years, being ranked as 1; that county having the lowest average number of indictments per 1,000 for ten years being ranked as 55. This ranking will hereafter be referred to as the Crime Index.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF FELONY INDICTMENTS FOR WEST VIRGINIA COUNTIES
1919-1928

COUNTY	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	TOTAL
Barbour—	34	21	41	20	42	45	103	85	27	27	445
Berkeley—	35	61	40	50	31	30	34	32	36	29	378
Boone—	47	50	82	60	35	46	73	57	75	135	660

Wirt—	4	2	1	7	11	5	14	2	18	11	75
Wood—	39	87	95	48	136	107	82	56	75	73	798
Wyoming—	17	21	18	32	34	16	60	26	38	81	343
Totals—	2127	2281	3275	3636	2889	2802	3380	2816	2906	3523	29635

Only certain figures were available from which to secure rankings for the social and economic factors which it was thought might be related to crime. Industrial figures were available for the year 1928, farm population and farm wealth figures for the years 1920 and 1925, education data

for 1928, all population data for 1920. Correlations between the per capita indictments for each of the years 1920, 1925, 1928, and the average per capita felony rankings showed the lowest correlation to be .82. It was considered safe to correlate factors for these particular years with the Crime Index.

The education index used was the ranking derived from applying "An Index Number for State School Systems," by Ayres, as printed in the Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools, 1928. This index is an average ranking of the counties for ten factors, such as the number of children of school age attending school, the per cent of school attendance, the amount of money spent per school child, etc. It is, therefore, an index of the educational interest of a county rather than the amount of education the people of a county have achieved.

A ratio between the value added to products by manufacture and the total value of agricultural products was found for each county for 1919. The counties were then ranked according to this ratio. That is, Ohio county with a ratio of 19 to 1 was ranked as 1; Hancock county with a ratio of 18 to 1 was ranked 2, etc.

In Table II the counties were ranked to show their relative positions in certain social and economic conditions. For example, Barbour county ranks 32nd in total population; 11th in the number of felony indictments per 1,000 population; 15th in the per cent of colored population; 28th in the per cent illiterate; 12th in the production of coal; 32nd in the per cent urban population; 40th in education; 43rd in the per cent industrially employed; 22nd in the per cent of farm population; 18th in per capita farm wealth; 15th in the per cent of foreign-born; and 46th in the ratio of manufacturing to agriculture.

TABLE II

WEST VIRGINIA COUNTIES RANKED TO SHOW THEIR POSITIONS RELATIVE
TO CERTAIN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS 1919-1928

COUNTY	POPULATION	CRIME INDEX	COLORED POPULATION	ILLITERACY	COAL PRODUCTION	URBAN POPULATION	EDUCATION	INDUSTRY	FARM POPULATION	FARM WEALTH	FOREIGN-BORN	RATIO OF MANUFACTURE TO AGRICULTURE
Barbour	32	11	15	28	12	32	40	43	22	18	15	46
Berkeley	19	26	10	41	7	5	8	37	4	24	24	24
Boone	39	1	13	10	11	52	26	2	33	51	26	22
Braxton	20	29	39	21	27	35	43	48	18	35	36	43
Brooke	36	10	23	26	16	4	3	3	1	3	2	3
Cabell	4	8	14	40	2	7	4	48	27	30	4	4
Calhoun	49	41	47	35	51	47	50	2	50	52	47	47
Clay	47	22	35	6	20	55	53	34	21	53	27	41
Doddridge	44	46	52	42	47	44	53	27	17	44	44	44
Fayette	6	7	3	12	4	38	31	37	49	48	12	17
Grant	52	24	26	13	30	30	35	46	19	10	23	29
Gilmer	48	38	46	22	31	50	15	52	5	23	46	54
Greenbrier	17	27	11	37	23	52	24	15	15	38	34	34
Hampshire	45	47	31	46	42	50	35	4	31	41	45	45
Hancock	26	39	24	1	36	20	11	1	53	11	1	2
Hardy	51	48	22	11	43	55	38	10	38	48	42	42
Harrison	2	30	20	36	5	8	8	15	50	7	8	6
Jackson	31	55	50	51	45	37	44	9	24	49	50	50
Jefferson	38	40	2	14	17	36	25	36	2	37	38	38
Kanawha	1	14	9	23	8	14	9	10	51	25	19	5
Lewis	24	43	34	50	34	16	13	22	30	8	29	35
Lincoln	28	16	49	3	26	54	48	42	8	54	55	53
Logan	11	3	6	4	2	48	18	29	54	49	10	23
Marion	7	21	16	16	7	10	2	20	45	14	5	16
Marshall	12	35	33	49	17	3	10	7	39	5	6	8
Mason	22	51	38	30	32	29	33	23	16	22	40	40
McDowell	3	6	1	2	1	40	16	39	52	55	9	13
Mercer	8	17	5	19	9	9	21	14	41	33	22	19
Mineral	27	25	21	32	25	5	41	12	47	16	16	15
Mingo	16	2	8	5	10	21	12	18	46	45	18	21
Monongalia	13	12	28	33	6	12	6	11	38	6	4	9
Monroe	43	44	17	38	36	38	49	6	9	54	48	48
Morgan	53	52	30	20	33	28	26	26	32	34	26	26
Nicholas	23	15	48	27	28	25	45	9	31	43	21	12
Ohio	5	23	25	53	15	1	1	6	55	1	3	1
Pendleton	50	54	37	25	53	54	55	3	12	53	52	52
Pleasant's	54	49	51	48	22	24	54	23	39	39	28	28
Pocahontas	41	18	18	18	34	30	13	24	21	20	11	11
Preston	14	31	42	43	14	26	27	30	28	36	17	39
Putnam	34	32	27	22	24	49	34	27	13	34	43	51
Raleigh	9	4	4	7	3	37	46	33	44	42	11	27
Randolph	15	28	32	34	22	15	32	17	35	20	14	20
Ritchie	37	20	53	54	27	23	47	29	30	42	31	31
Roane	25	45	54	47	39	51	45	11	26	47	49	49
Summers	29	9	12	39	37	24	42	31	20	41	45	37
Taylor	30	36	19	24	18	13	22	16	40	19	13	10

Tucker	35	34	36	17	19	11	29	32	42	46	7	18
Tyler	42	53	44	44		19	25	36	32	37	32	36
Upshur	33	37	40	52	21	28	14	41	17	28	33	30
Wayne	18	5	41	9	29	31	20	28	14	52	50	33
Webster	46	33	55	15	35	41	39	40	25	44	28	14
Wetzel	21	50	45	31	33	18	19	21	34	40	35	32
Wirt	54	42	43	45		46	49	51	7	47	51	55
Wood	10	19	29	55		6	4	5	43	13	25	7
Wyoming	40	13	7	8	13	44	17	19	12	29	31	25

An examination of Table II in relation to the complete data from which Table I was abbreviated gave some interesting facts. The average number of felony indictments per 1,000 for the state was 17. The seven counties highest in the production of coal had 36 per cent of the total number of indictments brought. The average number of indictments per 1,000 in these seven counties was 38. The six counties highest in the per cent of urban population had 16 per cent of the total number of indictments with an average of 18.6 indictments per 1,000 population.

After the counties had been ranked for each of the factors listed in Table II, correlations were made between the county ranking for each factor and the Crime Index. The Spearman Rank method was used with the Pearson correction formula for rank coefficients. These coefficients are presented in Table III, with the probable error for each coefficient and the years for which the economic and social data were secured. Wherever it was possible to secure data for two or more years of the study the figures were averaged before a ranking was made in order that the economic and social rankings would be as comparable as possible with the Crime Index.

Examination of Table III reveals the fact that there is a significant correlation, either positive or negative, between each of the factors examined and crime in West Virginia as indexed by the number of felony indictments. Only two factors, farm population and farm wealth showed

a negative correlation with crime, indicating that those counties that were high in farm population and farm wealth ranked low in the number of felony indictments.

TABLE III

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF FELONY INDICTMENTS
AND CERTAIN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS FOR
55 WEST VIRGINIA COUNTIES 1919-1928

<i>Factors</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>% E.r</i>	<i>Years</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Coal production88	.02	1919-1928
Per cent urban population.....	.87	.02	1920-1930
Per cent colored population.....	.57	.06	1920
Ratio of manufacturing to agri- culture48	.03	1919
Per cent foreign-born.....	.47	.07	1920
Per cent illiterate.....	.45	.07	1920
Per cent industrially employed..	.42	.07	1928
Education31	.05	1928
Per capita farm wealth.....	-.23	.04	1920-1925
Per cent farm population.....	-.45	.07	1920-1925

It is interesting to note that there is a very high positive correlation (.88) with crime and urban population and a significant negative correlation (-.45) with crime and farm population. That there is a much greater (nearly twice the amount) negative correlation between farm population and crime than between farm wealth and crime, the correlation here being -.23, and further, the correlation between colored population and crime, .57; between foreign-born and crime, .47, suggests that concentration seems to be an important factor in relation to crime.

In answer to the question whether certain social and economic conditions in West Virginia have a definite relation to crime as indicated by the number of felony indictments, the indication is that they do. West Virginia ranks second in the production of coal and it is with this factor

that we find the highest correlation with crime. Almost equally high is the correlation between crime and urban population. Other factors, such as the percentage of colored, foreign-born, and illiterates in the population and the ratio between the value of manufacturing and the value of farm products, show a fairly high positive correlation with crime, while farm wealth and farm population yield a negative correlation. In every instance the coefficient of correlation was more than four times the amount of probable error.

WHAT RACE ARE FILIPINOS?

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ONLY RECENTLY a leading Filipino editor in California asked the question: "What race are Filipinos?" He was anxious about the matter because the marriage status of his people is involved. The trouble arises in part because of man-made laws. Several states¹ in the United States have laws which forbid the marriage of the people of this country with Mongolians. If Filipinos are Mongolians, therefore their intermarriage with Caucasians is unlawful in certain states of our commonwealth, but lawful in others, even in adjoining states. For instance, marriage of Caucasians and Mongolians is unlawful in Oregon, but lawful in Washington.²

In examining the interesting history of the Filipinos, it appears that they are immigrant peoples in the Philippine Islands in much the same way that "Americans" are immigrants or descendants of immigrants in the United States. Their ancestors migrated to the Islands beginning many centuries ago—no one knows how long ago. The chief streams of immigration flowed into the Islands a thousand years or so ago. These immigrants came from across the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Sumatra, by a slow-moving process, where they experienced racial and cultural intermixtures. They are not necessarily native to Malaya, although they are frequently called Malayan. Some of their

¹ Namely, Arizona, California, Georgia, Idaho, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming.

² It may be noted that the state of Washington has no restrictions of any kind on interracial marriages.

ancestors were once immigrants to Malaya coming from farther West, coming from India, from the territory to the northwest of India, from regions sometimes called the cradle of the human race. Their racial origins are lost in the obscurity of millennia ago. But how much does it matter what a person's racial ancestors were 50,000 years ago in determining his worth today and what opportunities shall be his?

Suppose we come back to the Philippine Islands and ask, Who are the Filipinos? They turn out to be no single race or stock but an admixture almost as "mixed" as Americans in the United States. In fact, there is no Filipino race, but a Filipino race in the making. They are in a similar boat to ours, for there is no American race,³ but only an American race in process—out of Nordics, South and East Europeans, Jews, Negroes, Mongolians.

There are 43 or more different "races" in the Philippines. The first to come were the Negritoes who seem at one time to have spread all over the Islands. Before these pigmies were driven back into the highlands, considerable race mixture with later comers must have taken place. These Negroid peoples are now slowly decreasing in numbers.⁴

Then there are the Indonesians. If the Negritoes came to the Islands in the Paleolithic Age, then the Indonesians came in the Neolithic Age. They are noted for their terrace farming, occupying mountainous regions of the Philippines. Their best-known groups are the Bontoks and Igorots. They number roughly 275,000. Indonesian is a term which means "from the East Indian Islands," and of course refers to the pre-Malayan people.

The Moros may next be noted. They are Mohammedans and number three-fourths of a million. They live in

³ Unless the Indian be so honored.

⁴ Cf. Loomis Havemeyer, *Ethnography* (Ginn, 1929), pp. 174-179.

the South; their religion resulted from the spread of the Mohammedan religion into Borneo and Sumatra during the early part of the fourteenth century. They early acquired firearms from the white man, became fighting tribes, and waxed strong. They gave Spain a great deal of trouble and finally surrendered only as recently as 1915. They are darker in complexion than other Filipinos, not having mixed racially with Spanish or Chinese.

The largest group on the Islands are the Visayans, 4,000,000 of them occupying the central islands. The Tagalogs come next with approximately 2,000,000. Since many Tagalogs live in and around Manila they are frequently referred to as being the most advanced. The Ilocanos who live in the North exceed a million. They are more adventuresome and aggressive. These and many other groups that might be mentioned migrated several centuries ago from Malaya, India, and perhaps from farther West.

A considerable infiltration of Chinese has occurred, represented by Chinese traders and merchants. The Chinese have intermarried somewhat freely. They have come chiefly as men who have married Filipino women. The Filipino-Chinese mixture has produced a number of able leaders in the business and the political field. The Japanese have not migrated to the Islands extensively. Moreover, they have not intermarried to any extent.

The next important racial ingredient to be added to this racial *pot pourri* were the Spanish.⁵ When they captured the Islands in the sixteenth century, they named them after Prince Philip, later King Philip II of Spain. The Filipinos therefore do not bear an Asiatic or Mongolian name, but a European and Caucasian one. The Spanish were intent upon Christianizing the Filipinos, and hence the latter as a class are not Buddhist or Asiatic in religion, but Chris-

⁵ See Conrado Benitez, *History of the Philippines* (Ginn, 1926), Ch. VII.

tian. They were thought of by Spain as a Christian outpost facing Asia. Spanish influence has been powerful in shaping the personality traits of the leaders. The Filipinos are of Latin or South European temperament. They are more Latin in temperament than the Malayan, not to mention the Mongolian, people. They are quickly responsive to feeling appeals—unlike the poised Chinese and Japanese. They are active, eager to learn, quick to assimilate.

The Spanish language has made considerable headway in the cities and towns. Spanish racial admixture has been considerable. The Filipino-Spanish mestizo class has become prominent, particularly in politics.

For three decades and more, Americans have been in the Islands. The English language has spread, American schools have been introduced, American teachers have been there, and American education and culture have been extensively accepted. American health measures have been welcomed, and in other ways, many Filipinos have become American in culture traits.⁶

A clue is sometimes given concerning the nature of a race by the language that its members speak. The Filipino languages are not Mongolian so much as Malayan. In Filipino writing, as in Malayan writing, "the salient characteristics of Sanskrit writing were retained."⁷ Arabic writing was introduced into the Philippines about 1400 A.D. Another phase of the primitive Semitic alphabet went east to the Phœnicians, then to Greece, Rome, Spain, and around the world to the Philippines.

Three widely different descendants of the primitive Semitic alphabet have therefore met in this archipelago [Philippine]. One, beginning its journey some twenty-five hundred years ago, traveled via

⁶ Cf. Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines, Past and Present* (Macmillan, 1930), Ch. XXXIII.

⁷ A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1923), p. 289.

Arabia and Northern India, probably reaching the Philippines by 800 A.D. The second evolved in the Semitic homeland, finally poured out of northern Arabia with Mohammedanism, was carried across India to the Malay Peninsula, and thence leaped across the sea to Borneo and the Philippines about 1400 A.D. The third followed the longest journey: from the Phœnicians to the Greeks, to southern Italy, to Rome, to Spain, and after Columbus, to Mexico, and then across the Pacific Ocean to Manila shortly before A.D. 1600.⁸

What race are Filipinos? Not one but many. Not one yet, but one in the making.⁹ What shall we label them racially; if they must be labelled? The answer depends in part on what racial classification we use.

Ethnologists once divided the human race for purposes of classification, into five grand divisions.¹⁰ More recently they have come to use a sixfold division: Caucasian, Caucasoid or like Caucasian, Mongolian, Mongoloid, Negro and Negroid.¹¹ On this basis, we may say that many Filipinos, not all, are not Mongolian, but like Mongolian—Mongoloid. We cannot say that they came from Mongolia, or that they speak the Chinese or Japanese language, or that they have the Mongolian's religion, or that the bulk of their present culture traits are Mongolian.

What race are Filipinos? The answer depends partly on our definition of race. Fifty years ago "race" was defined largely in physical and biological terms. Today it is explained chiefly in terms of culture traits. The Filipinos are daily becoming culturally more like Caucasians. They are a people *on the move racially*, from Mongoloid

⁸ A. L. Kroeber, *ibid.*, p. 290.

⁹ See chapters on cultural conflicts and racial problems in the Philippines, in Serafin E. Macaraig, *Social Problems* (Education Supply Co., Manila, P.I., 1929).

¹⁰ Caucasian, Mongolian, Negro, Malay, Indian.

¹¹ A. C. Hadden in *The Races of Man* (Macmillan, 1925), uses the nature of the hair as a basis of racial classification: (1) straight hair, (2) wavy and curly hair, and (3) wooly hair.

toward Caucasoid, but still colored by an ancient tinge of Negroid. They are approaching an average of the whole human race.¹²

What race are Filipinos? The difficulty in answering is due to the fact that the term, Filipinos, is not a racial term at all. It is a political term, applied to a number of peoples, of different dialects and languages, religions, culture traits.¹³ No one can give a single racial equivalent for a political label designed to be general and to apply to the people of all races who swear allegiance to a given flag.

How shall racial intermarriage be determined? Certainly not on the basis of ancestors a thousand generations ago, but on a reasonable and currently informed interpretation of racial and social conditions. A sound racial intermarriage, like any sound marriage, depends on (a) considerable similarity in temperaments; (b) considerable similarity in culture traits—religious beliefs, property notions, occupational interests, attitudes toward sex matters and toward children; and (c) a considerable degree of favorable public opinion. Put in another way, the fitness of two people of different races to marry depends (a) on being temperamentally adjustable to each other, (b) on being culturally adjustable to each other, and (c) on the degree of social tolerance that the given community expresses toward both of the races involved. Such considerations are of infinitely greater importance in deciding whether Filipinos and Caucasians shall marry than racial relations a half million years ago.

¹² See discussion of "Philippine Inter-Island Migration," in Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration* (University of Chicago Press, 1930), Appendix J.

¹³ See Bruno Lasker, *ibid.*, Appendix K.

Book Notes

ESSAYS ON POPULATION. By JAMES A. FIELD. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, pp. xxix+440.

The threefold academic interest of the late Professor James Alfred Field in the related fields of population, standard of living, and statistical method, has served as a guide in the selection of those of his papers which appear in this volume. Scholarly and mature, the essays reflect the excursions of a uniquely active mind possessed with rare qualities of penetrating analysis. And so it is that the reader is led into what almost might be said to be new and unexplored paths in the domain of these old problems. Thus, in the presentation of a discourse on the Malthusian controversy, the observation is made that "the unit of population is the human being who is also the unit in nearly every matter of human interest," and that "observers regard population as an aggregate of units of those aims and possibilities and weaknesses which in the eyes of the observers stand for the moment as the pre-eminent human attributes and they judge its increase or decrease accordingly." Still more interesting is the exposition devoted to the early propagandistic movement for birth control which presents an abundance of original source materials illuminated by shrewd comments on the part of Professor Field. The essay, *Reflections on Birth Control*, is a distinctive contribution and deserves wide reading. Pointing out that "what men recognize as the laws of nature bear an embarrassing similarity of their own opinions," it is deftly suggested that the old argument that birth control is unnatural cannot be long maintained as reasonable; a nice sense of humor causes him to show that "there is scarcely one of our most unquestioned habitual procedures which may not be called unnatural, such, for instance, as the innocent and highly useful habit of carrying umbrellas, the beneficent application of surgery to solace bodily ills, and the eminently decent and respectable convention of wearing clothes." It is fortunate that the editor, Helen Fisher Hohman, was able to rescue this valuable material from oblivion. The book is for those who find it a delightful experience to come into contact with a mind which delighted in shadowing the trail for neglected essentials.

M. J. V.

HUMAN HEREDITY. By ERWIN BAUR, EUGEN FISCHER, and FRITZ LENZ. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. 734.

This standard monumental treatise on the general subject of human heredity has been revised in order to include the more recent findings in genetical and eugenical research. While the fundamental Mendelian principles of heredity in the plant and animal world have now become generally stabilized, the many important researches in process have indicated that there is now looming a similar prospect for the field of human heredity, and it is these indications that have been dealt with in the present edition. The first section of the book, written by Dr. Baur, sketches the general theory of variation and heredity in a dignified and most comprehensive manner. This is certainly not an easy thing to do, considering the complexities of the analysis. Dr. Fischer's contribution consists in presenting a stimulating discussion on the anthropological distinctions of races; all the evidence now points out that, "in human heredity the innumerable characters which differentiate individuals and groups (races) are tenaciously and inalterably transmitted from generation to generation. "To speak of a generalized being, man, is an anomaly, "there are only men and women belonging to particular races or particular racial crossings." The major portion of the volume has been assigned to Dr. Fritz Lenz who writes stimulatingly on the subject of morbid hereditary factors. Of great interest to sociological research workers will be his section devoted to a description of the latest methods employed in the study of human heredity, reasoning by analogies with final support from statistical application. The volume is concluded with a lengthy and welcome exposition on the inheritance of intellectual gifts. Dr. Lenz entertains the idea that the mingling of two races widely distinct from each other is likely to lead to disharmonious types, physically and mentally speaking. More convincing than usual is his discussion on types of genius and talent, while the closing chapter on *Racial Psychology* presents a critical analysis of the various claims made for racial supremacy. Conveying the idea that race "is the substratum of all civilization must not, however, lead anyone to feel that membership of a superior race is a sort of comfortable couch on which he can go to sleep," Dr. Lenz takes a commendable position. The book is to be regarded as one of the most valuable reference works in the field of heredity.

M. J. V.

THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF SOCIAL WORK. a Study in Family Case Work. By MAURICE J. KARPFF, Director, Training School for Jewish Social Work. Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, pp. 424, with appendices, bibliography of references cited, and index.

This book is a searching piece of research into the questions: "Has social work a scientific basis, If so, what is it?" Mr. Karpf takes the positive position that if it is not "possible to develop a scientific basis for social work," social work cannot be made a profession nor can such techniques be discovered which "would make the social worker a wholly safe and effective person to engage in the tasks which fall to this lot."

The first three parts of the book are devoted to an analysis of the sources of data, social work literature, family case work records, and catalogs of the schools of social work as to admission requirements and curricula. The book concludes with a discussion of the question, "How may social work acquire a scientific basis? Some needed changes and developments."

In the chapter, "Recapitulation," the author points out that "it is generally agreed that social workers do need special knowledge" as follows: (1) knowledge of the backgrounds of the people with whom the social worker is working, (2) the possession of a sound and wholesome philosophy of life and social point of view, (3) a knowledge of norms, (4) a knowledge of human nature, and (5) accuracy of thought and expression." . . . "The literature of social work leaves no room for doubt that the knowledge for social work can be obtained largely through a study of the social, psychological, and biological sciences."

When Mr. Karpf turns to the actual case histories for evidence of what knowledge the social worker uses, he finds "little evidence that the case worker uses any other than the common sense concepts and judgments relating to the attitudes, emotional states, personality and personality traits of the client, or in attempting to influence his behavior or the care of his health, the care he gives his children, his standard of living, the adequacy and inadequacy of his housing, and a host of other types of important problems and situations." The judgments of the case workers as recorded "were largely subjective, individualistic, and unverifiable."

The analysis of the catalogs of the schools of social work provided little that was encouraging as far as the author can discover. His

conclusions include "little uniformity of practice" in admission requirements; inadequate provision of a scientific background, little agreement as to curriculum, no uniform practice or policy regarding social research, and too great emphasis in some schools on field work so that "the trade aspects" rather than the "professional" are emphasized.

Notwithstanding the discouraging picture which Mr. Karpf presents, he believes that social work has a place in the present social economy and proceeds to point out the "essentials for progress." These are three: "the most accurate possible knowledge and skills for the understanding and control of human behavior and social organization, financial and organizational resources, and a favorable public opinion." Three groups of people must meet these needs: the educational institutions, universities, and schools of social work; social workers and social agencies; and the public.

Mr. Karpf presents an excellent analysis of current literature; he points out the need for professional training becoming more scientific, and social workers themselves accepting responsibility for stimulating training. His statements with regard to the social worker who clings to an apprentice method of training and who does not believe in professional training is caustic. He says: "Such a one is no asset from the standpoint of the ultimate professionalization of social work and we can only hope that he and his kind will be quickly eliminated from the field." Registration and licensing of social workers are advocated as one way of stimulating "public recognition of social work as a profession."

The book should be read and studied by every teacher in a school of social work, by every social worker aspiring to be "professional," and by the intelligent lay person interested in improving standards of social work as one means of promoting social progress. It is a fearless presentation and will doubtless bring forth many protests, especially on the part of those who draw back from the recognition of their own limitations either in the teaching or the practice of social work.

B. A. McC.

THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL WELFARE. By C. C. NORTH.
McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1931, pp. viii+359.

This book is the result of a study by the author of twenty of the larger cities of the country. The social work of these cities was examined with the purpose of discovering its strength and weakness.

The first chapter analyzes the characteristics that a city must

possess in order to make a community program possible. Subsequent chapters deal with the inter-relations of public and private charities, the school as a welfare agency and the general methods and objectives of denominational social work.

Beginning with Chapter V, the author presents the social service organization for the different fields of social work. The program for needy families correlates very effectively the work of the public departments with that of the denominational and the family welfare agencies. The program for needy children sets forth standards and briefly characterizes types of agencies. It does not, however, give sufficient emphasis to the fact that a large proportion of the needy children are handled by state-wide agencies. The chapter on health is double-barreled and treats both, the care of sickness and the promotion of health. Leisure-time activities and social work with Negroes are discussed and a significant chapter on the community fund movement is added. The author thinks that the greatest weakness of the community fund movement has been the lack of competent executives of the right types. He also speaks of repressive measures and objectionable control but leaves much in respect to these points unsaid.

Each program is fortified with illustrative cases. These illuminate the chapters and give needed concreteness to plans of organization. The book is intended for textbook purposes and should serve successfully in this way.

G. B. M.

THE MENTAL DEFECTIVE: A PROBLEM IN SOCIAL INEFFICIENCY. By RICHARD J. A. BERRY and R. G. GORDON. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1931, pp. xiii+225.

The thesis of this brief elementary book is that mental deficiency depends on an easily recognizable insufficiency of brain cells; this sufficiency is irreparable and for the best interest of all concerned those afflicted should be cared for at the least possible expense to the community so that communal resources can be devoted to those normals who will better repay the investment. Much reference is made to the findings of brain physiology; however, the chain of logical deductions from physiological antecedents to sociological consequents is at best weak and all too frequently depends upon mere assertion and repetition. The basic statistical data are very meager and are used uncritically. A practical colony plan based on considerable experience is offered in the last chapter. The style is discursive and not well adapted for lay readers.

E. F. Y.

FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. (Revised Edition.) By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. The Century Company, New York, 1931, pp. xii+441.

It is always an interesting exploration to survey the pages of a new and revised edition of a text in Social Psychology, revealing as it does, not only the development of the science itself, but also the growth and maturing of the social psychologic thought of the author. To observe that the revised edition of this book is vastly superior to its predecessor would be, perhaps, ordinary; it does plainly surpass the old edition in points of logical arrangement, illustrative materials, and forcefulness and clarity of presentation. The most striking changes are marked in Parts One and Two, devoted to studies in *Personality* and *Individuality*. Part One contains as fine and as discriminatory a study of the subject of personality as can be found in any existent social psychologic text. The author has taken into account the latest developments in the field of individual psychology and psychiatry, and, holding these up to the mirrors of social psychology, has woven them into a skillful pattern which is characterized by a fine utility. Chapters Seven and Eight, entitled *Status and Personality*, and *Configuration of Personality*, respectively, are indicative of the author's predilection for the study of attitudes; they are splendid presentations. The whole of Part Two, dedicated to a study of the social psychology of leadership traits, conveys the deep mentation of the author's energetic interest in this specialized field. To the reviewer, it is the marked contribution of the volume. Important, too, is the emphasis laid upon *Publics*, while the new chapter on *Public Opinion* and its origins, process, and mechanisms is finely analytical.

The old Tardean view of imitation has been discarded; the investigations and findings of the psychiatrists, the behaviorists, the cultural sociologists, and the Gestalt psychologists have been scanned and utilized whenever they have yielded data of importance for the social psychologist. Moreover, the discussions are fortified throughout by a trenchant style which not only provides class-room discussion with that stimulation so necessary for the final clarity of interpretation, but which also makes the book interesting and worthwhile for the lay reader.

M. J. V.

THE BACKGROUND OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. *Our World Horizons: National and International.* By CHARLES HODGES. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1931, pp. xvi+743.

"International relations" is herein advanced as a new social science; this book modestly makes a bow as an introductory survey for the newcomer among the social sciences. An intellectualistic view is maintained with an insistence upon the primacy of knowledge and facts. The field of "international relations" is defined as "the sum total of the various aspects of life that describe and explain the external relations" of nations. The emphasis is not upon "nation" but upon "nations." The foundations for the study of international relations are found in world geography, population pressures, and the present conflict of civilizations with Western civilization, dominant but challenged. Frontiers have passed and a society of nations is beginning to spring up. Economic nationalism clenches the fists of nation against nation until enlightened self-interest forces some degree of individualistic cooperation between the nations. In the meantime world communication has developed marvelously and public opinions regarding world affairs are arising in several nations. Likewise, a sense of international justice is sprouting. A world society has to contend against an acquisitive social order in most of the nations.

The volume is written in sprightly style, is vividly captioned, is carefully documented, and is extensively illustrated by novel figures, small cartoons, and maps. The author is probably wise in not attempting to formulate a set of principles for the new social science of international relations; he has remained content to present descriptive data interestingly interpreted.

E. S. B.

PRISONS OF TOMORROW. By EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND and THORSTEN SELLIN (Editors). *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 157, September, 1931, Philadelphia, 1931, pp. iv+262.

This is the usual symposium of carefully prepared semi-popular articles for which the Academy has become famous. The topic is timely and the writers are well known authorities in criminology and penology. The second part contains materials dealing with English, German, Belgian, Scandinavian, Italian, and Mexican prison problems and methods.

E. F. Y.

WORKBOOK IN SOCIOLOGY. By CLARENCE H. SCHETTLER and GEORGE E. SIMPSON. American Book Company, 1931, pp. 239.

The workbook is divided into twelve units, each unit containing from two to four chapters. Each chapter includes an outline, a list of definite references, suggested readings, a bibliography, a list of study questions, suggested topics for floor talks and a section on projects. The section on projects is most valuable where the practice of having special reports is used. A blank page is included at the end of each chapter for the taking of notes and assignments. Tests to accompany the workbook are available. These tests include: true and false, analysis, and discussion questions.

Such a workbook has several weaknesses. The questions can be prepared by one student and passed on from year to year. While the questions are supposed to be only for teachers, students may obtain copies thus destroying the value of the questions. Some teachers rely too much on a book of this type and fail to prepare as they should to give the course.

The book has value as a guide for inexperienced teachers as it gives an organized outline of study. A limited number of textbooks are referred to as texts for collateral reading. The books suggested in the field of general sociology and social problems represent a good selection. The list of specialized readings is extensive. C. C. G.

OUR LAWLESS POLICE: A Study of the Unlawful Enforcement of the Law. By ERNEST JEROME HOPKINS. Foreword by Zechariah Chafee, Jr. The Viking Press, New York, 1931, pp. xiii+379.

The interrelation of a large number of factors leading to excessive zeal in police officers are carefully canvassed in this volume. The point of view is legalistic but takes some account of the problems of police administrators. The author holds that a truly efficient trained police could discard needlessly violent methods to their own advantage and regain public confidence by strict observance of the "constitutional rights" of the accused. The cases are the usual "horrors" paraded when "third degree" is under consideration, but they are discussed with much more reserve than is usually the case. The fundamental weaknesses of the author's position are just those which are inevitably revealed when one group of professionals seek to set standards for another group of professionals—not having first "cleaned their own camp." It is difficult to say what influence this type of pleading has upon the uninformed equivocal public opinion prevailing in this field.

E. F. Y.

THE DISSATISFIED WORKER. By V. E. FISHER and JOSEPH V. HANNA. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. ix+260.

The authors of this brief treatise, both psychologists, contend that much of the unrest among workers in industrial processes arises "not from intellectual deficiency nor technical incompetence nor of objectional factors inherent in the work itself," but from "nonadjustive emotional tendencies" of the workers. Some of the real serious symptoms which afflict workers are declared by the authors to be brought into evidence by frequent changes of jobs, tired feelings, deficiency in attention, extreme irritability, abnormal fears, hearing voices, and feelings of being spied upon. It is entirely natural to suspect that those workers persecuted by these symptomatic derangements would be totally unadjusted in any accelerated industrial occupation. How much of this may be due to the working conditions has been either discounted or entirely overlooked in order to prove the thesis. Certainly, the recorded cases would seem to acquit industry and place the blame squarely upon the factors in the life history of the workers. Be that as it may, the book still remains valuable for the little light it sheds upon the lives of workers outside of industry, and implies how necessary it is to understand human life as a whole before pretending to interpret the many ramifications which enmesh the whole subject of industrial relations. It would seem that the book could have been made much more basically important if the authors had striven to point out in connection with each case just what they thought the industrial processes had to do with the problem; otherwise the cases are merely psychiatric cases and have no more to do with industry than with religion.

M. J. V.

NEW DISCOVERIES RELATING TO THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN. By SIR ARTHUR KEITH. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1931, pp. 512.

Although the author's *The Antiquity of Man*, first written in 1915, then published in a second edition in 1925, was again revised in 1929 to bring it up to date, so many discoveries pertaining to the evolution of man have been made during the last five years that here we are offered a book compiling the more recent material. The search for fossil man has been so world-wide that Sir Arthur Keith interestingly takes the reader on a tour to study scientifically the findings about ancient types of man in South Africa, East Africa, Palestine,

Egypt, Babylonia, China, Java, Australia, America, Gibraltar, Spain, Italy, Russia, England. Thus fossils of *Australopithecus*, Fish Hook, Springbok, cavemen, *Sinanthropus*, early Neanderthal, Piltdown, and other forms are examined anew with remarkable detail of analysis. Obviously the scientists do not agree on various points of classification or evaluation, and Keith strongly takes his own stand throughout, stating clearly his reasons therefor. Southwestern Asia is favored by the author as the cradle of modern man, yet the several forms so logically presented aid in an appreciation of human evolution as scientists search so diligently for the ancestors of existing races of man. Sir Arthur Keith has contributed largely to make anthropology a science, and he promises that so rapid is the rate of advance in this branch of knowledge that a supplementary volume may well be written in another five years. Any one interested in primitive life should read this book. J. E. N.

ESSAYS ON RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By a group of lecturers. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1931, pp. 194.

Although the volume falls below expectations because of its desultory character its array of individual contributors is impressive. It is stated that the natural sciences have achieved general standing because of "the discovery and application of scientific method"; hence, the social sciences should go and do likewise. Professor Walter Wheeler Cook distinguishes between the physical and the social sciences on the ground of the differences between fact judgments and value judgments. John Maurice Clark's insistence that inductive study must have hypotheses "around which to organize the evidence" is open to question. Karl N. Lewellyn presents a behavior (not behavioristic) interpretation of law which is decidedly stimulating. He thinks of law as a science of observation based on behavior, relating to disputes that are settled "by somewhat regularized official action," and involving "the use of somewhat regularized official pressures" to secure the channeling of conduct. Disputes should be settled not wholly according to the laws but also according to the type of organization of the persons involved. William F. Ogburn distinguishes between scholarly work and scientific work, pointing out that much of the former is not scholarly. William I. Thomas develops his "social situation standpoint" in research with new force. E. S. B.

International Notes

Edited by JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

ENGLAND'S recent political upheaval has been described in such ringing phrases as "Britain's Strangest Election," "The Tragic Fall of Ramsay MacDonald," "British Labor Falls," "MacDonald Smashes Labor," and "Britain's Smashing Defeat of Socialism." There are elements of truth or fact in each of these expressions, but it might well be pointed out that similar "plebiscites" were experienced when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain staged the Khaki election during the Boer War, and when Lloyd George did a similar stunt during 1918. Now the Labor government failed because of the reactionary policy dictated by the bankers. What is it that the Labor party would propose? Nothing less than the socialization of banking and the control of investment, and more besides. It would reject tariffs, and instead would propose the control of imports and exports by boards with drastic powers. It would devalue the pound, and would nationalize coal mining. Now that the Labor party has suffered defeat, what effect may be expected? Perhaps just a delay; perhaps the Party will become better coordinated, unified, hardened to undertake its program at another opportunity.

Ramsay MacDonald suffered a political "downfall" once before when he fearlessly stood alone against a World War. In the present instance, he has forsaken his party, not because he is no longer at heart a Socialist, but because he has been ready to sacrifice his career for his beliefs. He has again shown his greatness by placing office-holding below the satisfaction of his conscience. As another aspect of the situation, MacDonald has been guided by the grave importance of international considerations which press for solution, instead of by the socialist program of the party with which he has been identified for so many years. So he called for an election which was really a vote on issues, a plebiscite. Propaganda which spread the psychology of fear determined the result. The people were scared by the chances, if not by the threat, of inflation such as the late German episode; by concerted threats of unemployment of the Labor party won the election. Thus it became a conservative landslide to save the Pound Sterling, to save jobs, and to maintain property institutions in the *status quo*. Although Labor's poll fell from

8,300,000 to 6,600,000, the representation in the House of Commons changed from 287 to 52. Labor's poll is more than one-half of the Tory poll, but nevertheless it obtained less than one-ninth as many representatives as did the Tory group, and few of the Labor leaders survived the election.

Thus for a time ends a form of class warfare in England, in order to establish confidence in British solvency. Is it a defeat of Socialism? That is to be doubted. Instead, it is probably a defeat of the present political leaders for Socialism in England. The struggle between the Tories and the working class will inevitably continue and new leaders will arise to champion the cause of the latter. The people of the United States, by the way, need not feel immune to a similar struggle. The societies of the two countries are not so dissimilar in form, economically, although there is no Labor party in American politics about which to establish a labor government. There is plenty of evidence that the American people are worried about a dole or other unemployment relief, the standard of living, etc.

THE JOINT STATEMENT by President Hoover and Premier Laval of France, after the latter's recent visit to the United States, indicates common concern over the political, and especially the economic situation. They make general and only too vague expressions favoring the limitation of armaments, the need for further agreements regarding inter-governmental obligations when the so-called Hoover one-year moratorium expires, the importance of monetary stability both nationally and internationally, the importance of maintaining the gold standard by both countries, and the great need for restoration of economic stability and confidence. No longer is there denial of the undermining influences that radiate internationally from critical economic conditions such as exist in Germany, England, or elsewhere. Conferences like those of Laval and Grandi at Washington are to be commended as they recognize increasingly the value of government by discussion not only within national or state units, but internationally. If only our political leaders would rise to their opportunity and transcend national provincialism!

IN GERMANY the people are nervous and tense. Riots and pilferage by armed Communist bands and sympathizers occur almost daily in various sections of the country. The police are ever vigilant, and subject to emergency orders. The chief factors causing the unrest are unemployment and dire want. Many employables have been jobless for from two to four years, and it is said that some middle-

aged persons have been unemployed for six years. It is an awful thing to fear discharge from work at most any day, with the feeling that you might never again be employed. Congestion in housing, with enhanced risk from tuberculosis and other diseases, adds to the gravity of the situation. Americans may feel glad at least for having four times as much housing room as prevails per capita in Germany. The total unemployment in Germany is nearing four and one-half million, and in addition to what is being expended by charitable organizations, the relief of those not eligible to insurance is costing the government no less than \$2,225,000 per day. In Germany as in Great Britain, the insurance system has broken down because of excessive drain. The alternative is special taxation to meet deficits and future outlay. The German youth desperately drifts into radical paths—Hitlerism or Communism. Compare, for instance, the Communist votes in recent German elections: 3,262,584 in 1928, and 4,590,179 in 1930. Is it any wonder there is fear of revolution in Germany, especially since the rioting and shooting are a daily menace? If Germany has not yet reached the depths of depression and suffering, what is ahead? The United States, with twice the population of Germany, has also a double dose of unemployment; estimates now run from nine to over ten million, and it would be shocking to know how many of that number have been unemployed two or more years. Nor is there any assurance that conditions have reached their lowest ebb. Despite the optimistic propaganda circulated in the press during the last two years, and regardless of the expressed policies and promises not to add to the list of unemployed, discharges have continued by the million! Now the psychology of uncertainty is worse than ever.

IN THE MANCHURIAN situation, the League of Nations has its first major war test. The United States is not a member of the League, but has the unenviable position of "butting in" to engineer a settlement of the claims of China and Japan. Such a policy implies much. Why not belong to the League? Instead, the United States, by separate communication through the voice of Secretary of State Stimson, endorses exactly what the League does. Furthermore, Consul-General Prentiss B. Gilbert has been duly authorized to act with the League on the Manchurian situation, but with some limitations as to the responsibility of the United States when power of sanction is at stake. So far the League has not shown any enviable power of sanction. Of course there is a gain in moral influence when impor-

tant issues are supported by the American government, and those who favor entrance into the League by the United States may appreciate having a representative like Mr. Gilbert share in the deliberations. What it amounts to for the United States, however, is a "limping membership."

JAPAN AND CHINA both have claims to Manchuria, or to rights in that country. It has become customary to regard Manchuria as a part of China, but China's sovereignty over Manchuria is only a claim, a legal fiction the validity of which may be questioned. Likewise subject to question is the validity of the Japanese treaty rights won as a part of the notorious Twenty-one Demands. The Orient has from time immemorial been a place for struggle of the kind now under way. The Japanese want Manchuria for expansion, for migration, for investment, for commercial benefits. The Chinese want it for similar reasons, and have already sent millions of emigrants into Manchuria. The new railroad projected by the Chinese threatens serious competition against the South Manchuria Railroad financed and controlled by the Japanese "under treaty." The Japanese insist upon a railroad monopoly in the southern part of Manchuria. The Russians control the northern railroad. The Russians are just as anxious to secure a good port for access to the Pacific, such as Dairen, but are not in position to force the issue. The Chinese are apparently weak in organization as compared with the Japanese, who have profited from earlier adoption of western industrial culture and efficiency. Yet Japan, regardless of any degree of national unity, modernization, and a superior war machine, suffers keenly because of China's boycott against Japanese goods. Besides such boycott, there is international public opinion, the bonds of the League and of the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, which hinder Japan from outright seizure of Manchuria. The Russian threat against Japan seems of less immediate concern, but may loom up big in future years. China has no fondness for Communism, and this is a direct obstacle to Soviet interference in the Manchurian affair. Else it would become directly a triangular struggle.

Inconsistency in the attitudes of Japanese spokesmen toward the proposals by the League have been puzzling in the extreme. One day the prospects for peaceful and quick settlement seem to be excellent; the next day, rejection or qualification shows a contrary turn to the situation. The reason appears to be that the military powers of Japan are independent and not responsible to the Emperor and

the national government; that is, there are two elements, one for a peaceful program, one militant. Yet it is said that in so far as the Manchurian problem is concerned, the people are united. Thus that explanation of inconsistency falls to the ground. No doubt Japan wants Manchuria in quite the same manner as it seized Korea when the opportunity came. Also, Japan hopes to dominate the Orient. Eventually, even if Japan were to conquer and dominate all of China politically, the chances are that the Japanese as a people would lose identity in the millions of Chinese. They would be submerged racially and culturally. It is a problem for the ages, not to be confined to the present cross-section.

SPAIN is to have a unicameral Congress—a Chamber of Deputies. Ordinarily a second body is deemed necessary to insure legislative justice, as a check on impulsive action. Spain's experiment will be watched with interest. Spain has done another very exceptional thing by mentioning the League of Nations in its constitution, and it is in connection with the declaration of war. The President of Spain may declare war, the Assembly having so authorized him, but only if such action is in harmony with League regulations and after arbitration has been attempted through League channels. Spain thus pioneers for all members of the League, and deserves congratulations for so forward a step.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS needs approximately \$6,000,000 for its 1932 budget. Many members of that body are asking for economy, even for retrenchment. Here is one place where retrenchment may be false economy. Let not the public fail to appreciate the manifold international services rendered by the League in economic, social, scientific, and other fields. It is virtually a bureau for international education and scientific service. Of course reasonable economy is important, and the psychological effect of the plea makes a good excuse at this time. However, the entire expense is negligible in comparison with the billions spent annually for armament by only a few of the members of the League. Far more significant than limiting the finances of the League is the prospect of a one-year armament-building truce. Such a plan has been approved by the United States, France, Japan, Russia, Hungary, Holland, Australia, New Zealand, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Albania, Latvia, and Luxembourg. Great Britain, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany remain to be heard from as this goes to press, but doubtless they will cooperate in the truce.

Social Research Notes

Edited by MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES. The Bureau of the Census has been characterized as the greatest fact-finding agency in the world. The data of the 1930 census are being released serially for newspaper publication. State population bulletins have also appeared. From these data one can draw conclusions concerning the size and composition of Uncle Sam's super-family.

The United States is composed of 122,775,046 persons, which represents an increase of over 17 million, or 16.1 per cent, during the past ten years. The population has increased nearly 110 million, or some 800 per cent, during the past one hundred years. No static population or "national suicide" is in the immediate offing. However, while the population is steadily increasing, the growth is at a decreasing ratio.

The American nation is composed of highly heterogeneous people. First of all, there are 63,137,080 males and 60,637,966 females, or 102.5 males per 100 females. In 1920 the sex ratio was 104 males to 100 females. For the Negro group the sex ratio now is but 97, and for the native white of foreign or mixed parentage the ratio is 98 males per 100 females. On the other hand, the Filipinos in the United States have a ratio of 1,437.7 males per 100 females, the Chinese 394.7 and the Japanese 143.3.

According to color and nativity, the population comprises 108,864,207 white persons, 11,891,143 Negroes, 1,422,533 Mexicans, 322,397 Indians, 74,954 Chinese, 138,834 Japanese, 45,208 Filipinos, 3,130 Hindus, 1,860 Koreans, and 780 persons of other races. Of the white population, 95,497,800 are native and 13,366,407 are foreign-born. But 25,361,189 of the native white group have foreign or mixed parents. Thus about 12 per cent of the total whites are foreign-born and 23 per cent are native-born but of foreign or mixed parents. Twenty years ago the percentages were 16 and 24 respectively. The Negro group had the lowest increase (13.6 per cent) since 1920. The white group increased 14.8 per cent; but including the Mexicans, who were classed with the whites in 1920, the increase was 15.7 per

cent. All other groups had increases higher than the percentage of increase for the population as a whole. The Filipinos increased 706.9 per cent and the Mexicans had a 103.1 per cent increase.

In the foreign-born white population, there are eight countries each of which is represented by more than 500,000 persons, namely, Italy, Germany, Canada, Poland, Russia, England, Irish Free State, and Sweden. Italy is represented by 1,790,422 persons. Austria and Hungary had the largest losses since 1920; whereas Lithuania, Scotland, and Czechoslovakia had the greatest increases of representation.

The age distribution is very irregular. Normally, a pyramid of ages should have a wide base composed of children, and there should be somewhat regular decrease until the peak age is reached. According to the 1930 census, only 9.3 per cent of the American people are under five years of age, as against 10.9 per cent in 1920. In fact the percentage of children up to 15 years of age is smaller than it was in 1920 and in previous decades. The smallest percentage of children is found in the foreign-born white group, the largest in the native white group.

There were 38,387,032 persons from 5 to 20 years of age on April 1, 1930, of which number 26,849,636, or 69.9 per cent, were reported as having attended school at some time since September 1, 1929. There were 98,723,047 persons 10 years old and over in the population, of which number only 4,283,753, or 4.3 per cent, were reported as illiterate, which represents a decline of 1.7 since 1920. For native whites, the percentage of illiteracy was 1.5; for foreign-born whites, 9.9; for Negroes, 16.3; and for all other races, 2.5.

The people are moving to the city in increasing numbers. In 1920, for the first time in our history, more than one-half (51.4 per cent) of the population lived in urban centers of 2,500 inhabitants or more. In 1930 nearly 69,000,000, or 56.2 per cent, were urban dwellers. Of the 53,820,223 rural people, the farm population was 30,447,550, forming 24.8 per cent of the total population, and the rural non-farm population was 23,662,710. While the total population increased 16.1 per cent between 1920 and 1930, the rural-farm population shows a decrease of 3.8 per cent but the rural non-farm population increased 18 per cent. The urban movement seems to be one of the outstanding characteristics of our national life. The cityward movement, however, is irregular throughout the United States. In New England 77.3 per cent and in the Middle Atlantic states 77.7 per cent of the people

dwelling in cities. The South is less than half urban. Only 28.1 per cent of the people in the East South Central states live in urban centers.

Of the 98,723,047 persons 10 years of age and over, 48,832,589 were returned as gainfully employed, which represents 49.5 per cent of the group and 39.8 per cent of the total population. Of the gainfully employed, 10,778,794 were female workers. Thus, over one-fifth of the gainfully employed are women.

POPULATION OF CALIFORNIA. The State of California is highly urbanized; 4,160,596 of the 5,677,251 inhabitants live in urban centers, or 73.3 per cent. Only 10.2 per cent live on farms. California has been more than one-half urban since the beginning of the century. While the state has over five million white people and only 81,048 Negroes, the other races total 555,956, of which the Mexicans total 368,013. Of the 138,834 Japanese in the United States, 97,456 are found in California. There are also 37,361 Chinese and 30,470 Filipinos in the state. California has fewer children in proportion to the total population than is true for the United States, and it has a larger percentage of older people. Of the 1,407,496 of school age (5 to 20), 78.5 per cent are attending school; and of the 4,806,490 that are 10 years of age and over, only 2.6 per cent are illiterate. The native whites have an illiteracy of only 0.3 per cent, whereas 5.7 per cent of the foreign-born whites are illiterate.

Social Photoplay Notes

G. D. N.

Around the World in Eighty Minutes with our gallant friend Douglas Fairbanks is splendid entertainment. In fact it is more than entertainment for it makes us wish that we might do as he did; but, since most of us cannot, it serves to drag us out of our ruts of complacency and habit to see the fun and romance in the bits of traveling that we do from day to day, and perhaps puts it into our heads to go adventuring on a small scale of our own.

The picture might be termed an embellished travelog—or better still, a pictorial journal of a trip. It covers more territory and is less accurate than the conventional travelog, but it is more human. We travel from place to place with the author and through the medium of his genial personality and ready wit are afforded many happy meetings with foreign friends and foreign places.

Perhaps the humor and puns are overdone, but even so they are a welcome contrast to the standard complacent travelog. There is no plot and the rambling sequence of scenes admits of little organization, and that may be a point of criticism; but, for compensation we have for once a picture without gangsters, sex, football, or ardent love themes. Fairbanks has carried his roles of *Robin Hood* and *The Thief of Bagdad*, swashbuckling, rollicking roles, out of the realm of make-believe into real life situations. One may condemn the picture for lack of plot, for lack of organization, for superficiality, but one cannot gainsay the fact that Douglas Fairbanks makes an excellent man of the world, a splendid ambassador of "motion picture" America.

And it is altogether fitting that he of all actors should make this type of picture, not so much because the role of adventurer is the role best suited to him, as because of the fact that he carries the name "Douglas Fairbanks." That name is almost synonymous with "motion picture" in the best sense of the word. It must be a pleasant relief for foreign peoples to contact one of our leading industries at first hand through such a person as Douglas Fairbanks after the too-numerous-to-mention contacts they have had via the medium of our exaggerated, over-emotionalized cinema products by which our foreign friends are prone to judge one of our leading industries and us.